

PHILOSOPHY,
RELIGION AND
EDUCATION ✓

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LOVE IN PSYCHOTHERAPY

ERICH FROMM *

FREUD AND FERENCZI

The problem of the use of love in psychotherapy began to receive attention in a rather famous discussion between Ferenczi and Freud in the last few years of Ferenczi's life. Ferenczi was one of the most gifted and most loyal pupils of Freud and one of the founders of the International Psychoanalytic Association. In his last years he felt something was missing in Freudian therapy—namely, love. He believed that the patient can not really get well if the analyst assumes the role that Freud ascribed to him: that of a mirror, of a scientist who sat behind him and who was listening to his productions and from time to time interpreting them, but who had no personal relationship or relatedness to the patient. Ferenczi felt this was wrong and that what the patient needed to get well was not only interpretation and insight but something more alive, if you please: namely, a love given to him by the analyst—the very love which he had missed as a child. The theoretical basis of this consideration is that the person becomes neurotic because of the failure to receive love as a child, especially from his mother. That was more or less Ferenczi's idea.

Now, curiously enough, Freud was very furious at this idea; so furious, in fact, that at one of Ferenczi's last visits he refused to shake hands with him and warned him in drastic terms. He argued: "Where do you start giving love? You give love and then you give a kiss and where do you end? This is very dangerous for the reputation, maybe not so much of Dr. Ferenczi but for the reputation of psychoanalysis." Ferenczi and Freud came to a break over this very problem.

In the third volume of Dr. Jones' biography of Freud he claims that Ferenczi was psychotic for many years and died in a homicidal, maniacal mood. Nothing of the kind is true. He died from pernicious anemia and all witnesses of his last years and months and of his death have declared that there was not the slightest evidence that Ferenczi suffered from psychosis. I mention this only because it shows to what

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This material was taken from a recording of an address by Dr. Fromm to the staff of The Merrill-Palmer School, in Detroit, January 21, 1958.

extent this one difference with regard to love caused an antagonism on the part of Freud which was so great that many, many years later Dr. Jones felt an urge to explain this deviation from the gospel of Freud. It is a little bit like the Stalinist explaining a defection by saying a man was a paid agent of capitalism; while in psychiatric language he becomes psychotic. Well, Ferenczi never was psychotic but was a very loving and a very imaginative man. He was the first to introduce this question—whether the patient needed love from the analyst—into psychoanalytic literature and practice.

Freud's position was quite different. His was that of the worker in the physiological laboratory. Here is the object, there is the scientist; the scientist observes and therefore the scientist has no other relationship to the object than the physiologist or chemist has to his object. It is an intellectual relationship and obviously not one of affective relatedness. Now, this was expressed also in the position of the patient which Freud chose to perform analysis: the couch, with the analyst sitting behind it. Freud explained this as mainly determined by the fact that he couldn't be stared at for eight hours a day. Probably he also felt that it corresponded more to a laboratory, a so-called scientific situation, with the patient here and the scientist there. Also, the patient would seem freer to produce embarrassing ideas and thoughts if he didn't have to look at the analyst.

Frankly, from my own experience, I don't believe the foregoing is so. Sometimes the patient is much less free feeling the ogre sitting behind him and not knowing what he thinks and what he does. Sometimes, also, the value of material transmitted to the analyst doesn't become quite real as long as it is spoken, so to speak, into a vacuum, while if it is said to another person it becomes real in the sense of a human communication. In itself, this position of the analyst sitting behind the patient on the couch is a symbolic expression of this non-loving, objective, mirror-like attitude.

In the later scientific literature this matter of the patient being on the couch has been defended and explained by reasons which are much more to the point. I refer especially to a paper by René Spitz in which he contends that the analytic position on the couch has an "infantilizing" effect. You feel like the little child. If you lie there and the analyst doesn't answer, you don't see him and only from time to time you hear something from behind—you turn into a little child in this situation. Because we are all little children with one part of ourselves, it is not difficult to reproduce this infantile-like, child attitude. If we want infantile material, we get it better if we infantilize the patient and we do it by this very position. Therefore the position is not just one, as Freud had assumed, in which the analyst feels better or in which the patient feels better but it is useful because

it makes it easier to reproduce the infantile memories and fantasies which one wants to analyze.

FREUD'S ATTITUDE TOWARD LOVE

There is another point to be mentioned and that is Freud's whole attitude toward love. He made it very clear that the feeling or the affect of love is always irrational. He made it clear in the two aspects of love. One is erotic love, what we usually call falling in love or being in love. He said this is always formed according to infantile patterns and is in essence no different from what we find in transference. We just can't help it. We all have this infantile determination and so when we fall in love we fall in love according to the infantile pattern, which is essentially irrational. He made the same statement in a different form about what you might call brotherly love. After all, the great cultures of the west and the east are determined largely by the idea that you should love your neighbor, your brother; that there is not only the possibility and necessity for erotic love but for brotherly love.

About that Freud wrote: "What nonsense, what insincerity, to demand any such thing which is perfectly impossible and perfectly nonsensical. Why should I love my neighbor? He doesn't deserve it. I love my family; that is fine. But to love my neighbor is just plain nonsense. It is against human nature and it is utterly irrational. It is one of those irrational things which religion preaches and it doesn't make any sense." So love in its two aspects, in its erotic and in its non-erotic aspect of agape, for Freud was irrational. So in the first place an attitude of love to the patient was not only contraindicated for reasons of technique but also because for him, basically, love was something which in itself was an unsound proposition, although a natural weakness of man which he couldn't help.

Perhaps I should say one more word. Freud's idea that love in itself was an irrational affect is really only part of a philosophical attitude which runs through our whole modern age, that is to say since Descartes. It has in common one premise, that is, that only thought is rational. Affect is always irrational. Any kind of feeling is irrational. Only thought or intellect, as the word was identified with reason, is rational. So man was split, and is split today, between rational man, which is the man of thought, and irrational man which is the man of affect. So when Freud has this attitude toward love it is not as peculiarly Freudian as it may sound. It is only a consequence, and a very courageous consequence, as he was courageous in all other ways, of a development of thought in 300 years of the western world. The thesis of this development was that by the very nature of man only thoughts are to be considered rational.

RATIONAL AND IRRATIONAL AFFECT

Of course, in the western world there were those who did not accept that idea. I have only to remind you of Pascal's famous statement: "The heart has its reason which reason does not know." There you have the idea of a rational *feeling*, that heart can be as rational—not intellectual but rational, which is something different—as the mind or the intellect can be. It was expressed in a more precise and philosophical way in Spinoza's *Ethics* which makes very clear the difference between irrational affect and rational affect. This is one of the most important differentiations and concepts for psychology, which unfortunately has fallen somewhat into oblivion. By irrational affects, Spinoza meant affects of which we are the slaves, which dominate us; or, as he puts it, passion in the literal sense of the word. These are affects from which we suffer, in which we are patterned. There is another group of affects which he calls "active affects," in which we are active, in which we are not the slaves, in which we produce actively, and, in a strange terminology for us today, he calls this active affect "actions" in contrast to passions. But by that he does not mean actions in the sense which we talk of actions today, in doing something in the physical world, but active affects. For him there are two active affects, that is, fortitude and generosity. You might say *strength* and *love*. Incidentally, this is a point which is not too different from that you find in a good deal of Indian religious thinking. Of course, also in a number of other thinkers of the 19th century you find a different attitude toward affects. But Freud, and this is what I meant to say, followed the general line of rationalistic thinking; namely, affect, including love, always is irrational and rationality can be attained only in the sphere of thought.

I would go one step further. Freud was not really, as he has said many times himself, primarily interested in medicine and not primarily interested in therapy. He was really interested in teaching that which would show man the way to solve his problems. The way Freud conceived his psychoanalytic movement could never be understood if we assume that he had in mind only a therapy and a psychological theory. Where in the world do you find a therapy and a psychological theory which expresses itself in a movement with a hierarchy, with an international organization, with a secret committee which guides the movement in terms of the master's words, and so on, You find that in religion. You find that in politics. But you do not find it in science or in therapy. The reason is that Freud sometimes consciously and most of the time probably unconsciously had in mind much more than therapy, much more than cure. He had in mind salvation. He had in mind to show man, to show the world, what the way to salvation was. It was not the way of religion, nor of nationalism, nor

of socialism or communism; it was the way of rationalistic puritanism. And what was really the dogma? The dogma was to teach man how he could conquer affect by reason.

The conquest and domination of affective forces by reason was the real core of Freud's idea and teaching, and that is what he hoped to achieve with his teaching. And one might say almost incidentally, if not accidentally, this was applied to the neurotic patient who was expected to get rid of his neurosis or symptoms by the conquest of his affects with his intellect and reason. It would lead us too far to discuss the implications which this has for psychotherapy. If I may put it in just one sentence, this whole idea implied that cure really was achieved by rational insight. Freud himself said in the beginning that if the doctor explained to the patient the reasons for his symptoms it was up to the patient to understand, accept, and lose them. If he did understand, he would be cured and if he didn't it was just too bad. Later, Freud, and of course most analysts, understood that it isn't that simple; that it was not only a matter of understanding intellectually but of working through, of experience, of feeling, and not of only knowing the truth or the correctness of the interpretations. Yet I feel Freudian analysis always was somehow overshadowed, or at least never quite lost its traces of this earlier stage in which intellectual understanding of irrational affects was the key to the cure of neurotic symptoms.

ROSEN, SECHEHAYE, SULLIVAN AND DE FOREST

So far I have talked about Freud's attitudes specifically toward the use of love in therapy, to his attitude toward love in general, and I have mentioned Ferenczi as the first who differed from Freud in this respect. At least three authors have continued Ferenczi's concepts. Rosen, in his analysis of schizophrenia, has a theory which is quite simple, perhaps over-simplified. The theory is that first, schizophrenia is always psychologically conditioned, exclusively psychologically conditioned. Second, there are not different kinds of psychosis but only different degrees of psychosis; schizophrenia being the worst kind of psychosis, paranoia being the least malignant form of psychosis. The cause for schizophrenia always is, as he puts it, the perverted instinct of a mother. That is to say, the patient becomes ill in a psychotic direction because of the pervertedness of his mother, by which he means because the mother was utterly incapable of giving the love a child needs.

Rosen's technique, or his therapy, consists to a large extent in assuming the role of the mother in his relationship with the schizophrenic patient; not interpreting primarily but in acting it out. Some-

times the role of the father is used but I understand the role of the mother is primary. As a very simply example, he would feel that the patient has a tremendous fear of the mother, motherly killing. This is because in the unconscious and in the experience of the very little child, mother is at the same time the power which can give love and the power which can take love away, the great destroyer and the great creator. So let us say that Rosen in dealing with the schizophrenic patient might throw him on the floor and say to him, "Now I could do anything to you. I could kill you but I am your mother and I love you. And you see the proof is I do not hurt you." Now this is certainly very unorthodox behavior, but according to Rosen it has great effect. The patient, who at this point in his own awareness feels himself to be the little infant, experiences in this act that the analyst has entered with him into the child-mother relationship, acts it out, and for the first time the patient is capable of experiencing a relatedness to mother and of experiencing some sense of being loved, or perhaps only some sense of not being in danger of being destroyed. In other words, Rosen continues very drastically much the same line which Ferenczi had started, but he does it essentially with schizophrenic patients. The idea is that the patient is sick because he did not receive love and, we must always put in parenthesis that he was afraid of being destroyed by mother. It is the analyst's function to give him that love in order to create a basis for sanity.

Another author who worked along the same line before Rosen is Mrs. Sechehaye, whose work is reported in the analysis of a schizophrenic girl and in the diary which this schizophrenic girl wrote. Her method and idea is much the same; namely, that what the schizophrenic girl suffered from was a tremendous lack of confidence in motherly love followed by the fear of being destroyed. In six or seven years of analysis the analyst acted out the role of the mother.

As one example, she noticed that the girl wanted to eat apples. She didn't want to eat anything else but she only wanted to eat green apples, that is, apples that were not ripe. Now why? The tree represents mother. The ripe apple has lost the connection but the green apple is still connected with mother. It is still fed by mother and for the unconscious of the patient the green apple represented the apple which was still fed by mother and that was the apple she wanted to eat. Already this represents a remarkable degree of symbolic understanding of why the patient wanted green apples. But the analyst made one mistake at first. She bought two pounds of green apples and said: "Here they are, you can eat as many as you like." The patient was not interested and it took some time to discover that the patient wanted to be fed. Mrs. Sechehaye had to peel the apples and to put every piece into her mouth. In other words

the apple is fed by the mother tree and the patient is fed by the mother analyst. Once this was done the patient had this experience of motherly love.

This patient had been seen by 15 psychiatrists in Switzerland who unanimously declared her to be a deteriorated schizophrenic who could not possibly be cured. After six years of analysis, after many mistakes and many deviations, the patient was cured. This is a very clinical demonstration of the same theory advanced by Rosen: what the schizophrenic patient needs is love, motherly love in the very concrete sense.

Another literary source bearing on this problem is by a student of Ferenczi, Izette de Forest who wrote *The Leaven of Love*, in which she presents clinical material based on Ferenczi's ideas and her own observations in a clear, beautiful fashion. I want to mention a fourth author, although strictly speaking he does not belong in this group. Sullivan coined a very fortunate expression, the "participant observer." Freud was the non-participant observer, as I tried to describe. Sullivan thought the analyst must be an observer, but an observer who is related to his patient in a participating way. One can argue whether Sullivan was sufficiently participating with the patient but that is not what we are discussing here. At any rate, he is one of the analysts who also stressed the element of participation, that is to say, of relatedness, although not exactly of love, as opposed to the classical Freudian attitude.

FROMM'S VIEW

Now I want to talk a little about my own ideas of love and its function in psychoanalysis. My thesis is that you do not understand another person unless you are related to him. You can understand objects in the natural sciences, and you can understand a person in medicine or to some limited extent in psychology, as any object with which the scientist is confronted, but *you cannot understand a patient deeply, or for that matter any human being, without being related to him.* If you only look at him intellectually as an observer, from observer to object, you can see quite a few things but you cannot really understand him.

Perhaps I should say a few things about our way of relating ourselves to things and people in our modern culture. You ask a person: "who are you?" He first gives his name. That is the most frequent reaction to this question, as if it meant "what name do you have?" Then you may say, "well, that doesn't tell me enough about you." The response: "I am a doctor." If you still are not satisfied, he will add that he is married and has two kids. And if you are not satisfied with that answer, he thinks you are a little queer because it should be obvious that you know all about him.

Let me take another aspect of it. Suppose you ask a patient: "what kind of a person am I to you?" The patient will say: "But I don't know you." You say: "But you have known me now for one year, two years, so how can you say you don't know me?" "Yes, but I don't know any details of your life. In other words, I don't know your life history." So that is another way in which people look at another person. They know what has happened to him, as if that meant anything. I don't know a person, at least I know very little about him, by knowing his history. However, I can possibly know a person by talking to him for five minutes, but then I must do something more than just be the observer who observes without being related.

Perhaps I can clarify this with another example. Most people some time see a mountain. What is their first impression? They ask the name of the mountain, the altitude, and then they have "seen" the mountain. They are satisfied. It makes them feel more secure because this strange object, a new object which many people talk about, is now securely filed away in their memory in terms of name and altitude. But they have not *seen* the mountain. They have only watched the mountain intellectually and perceived it intellectually but they have not seen the mountain. Oh yes, they may take a photograph and they see it through the camera, but they never see the mountain. They have it on the picture and then when they come back from the trip they show the picture to friends but in all this process of knowing the name and knowing the altitude and in having taken the picture they have never seen the mountain.

Compare this view of that of a painter. A real painter, or any creative person, sees the mountain. He isn't interested in the altitude. He is not interested in the name. He is not interested in a photograph but relates himself actively, or, if you please, creatively, with all his senses, with his whole personality, to this mountain and the mountain becomes alive to him. The mountain becomes real to him as *this* specific mountain. Abstractions don't count in this process.

The same holds true for any other object: it is really the difference between purely intellectual observation and artistic, creative observation in which you give yourself fully to the reality of whatever you are concerned with. This holds true in the same way to our relationship with another person. If I observe the person from a distance, like the mountain, I may know his name and his profession and his history and yet I know nothing about *him*. If I give myself to this person, to experience him in his uniqueness and his full reality, suddenly this person becomes real and I would say, theoretically speaking, I know all there is to be known about him. I know his past and his present because it is all there and at that very moment I feel one with him. And at that very moment you might say I love him because I have

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stopped judging; I see him. I see him like the hero of a Shakespearean drama. And unless I see any person in whom I am really interested like the hero of a Shakespearean drama I know nothing about him, because every person is a bit of living matter endowed with reason, thrown into this world, fighting to develop something, usually defeated, and unless I understand the struggle, the fight, the drama, and most of the time the tragedy of this attempt, I know nothing about the person. Now the great dramatists, like Balzac, like Shakespeare, or like Aeschylus knew how to present a person, their hero, in such a way that you forget about whether he is good or bad, or sympathetic or not sympathetic. You see him so realistically, so deeply that at that point you see him with love. You see him with the admiration which the hero of any drama deserves.

How do I understand the fantasies and feelings in my patient unless I feel them in myself? If I cannot feel myself a psychotic, a criminal, a little child, I know nothing about what goes on in the patient and would talk like a blind man would talk about a painting and the patient would know it. I may talk cleverly and be very intelligent. I may have read all the books and give all the correct interpretations, and the patient, if he is docile as most patients are, says "very true, doctor, I can see that you are right." If he is not so docile he may say something much less pleasant. But the truth is that he knows very well whether I speak from experience or whether I speak from theory. And I speak from experience only if I in myself experience the very same things the patient experiences.

That is an act of love, if you please. That is an act of love in the sense that I see him in his full reality, in his full suchness, that I give up all kind of judgment because it is not up to me to judge, affectively speaking, and I become he. At that very moment I can articulate that which he cannot yet articulate because he is too much disturbed or too much afraid. Just because I become him I can tell him what goes on in him. If I don't become him, I can give him nothing but words. They may be right but they will have very little effect on the patient. I would say that when the patient feels love is exactly when he experiences the analyst as becoming him, as being him, as talking from the experience which is shared with him. For the patient this is a tremendously important experience. In fact, it is for anybody, for in our culture, in which we speak about a lot of teamwork and togetherness and all such things, actually people are as lonely as they could be any place in the universe. Few people are sufficiently concentrated and sufficiently willing to put themselves into the other person, even to really listen.

A word here about the question of judging. I said, once you see the full reality of the patient then you stop judging. Now, the word

judging is used in our language in two ways. If a judge pronounces judgment, or if God, to speak in theological language, pronounces judgment, then this is an act the basis of which is relationship to authority. Only the authority pronounces judgment. But there is another way of judging, as we use the word. Let us say you are a good art critic and you judge paintings. You see a painting which is very poor and say: "I am sorry, this is a poor painting." Then someone might tell you: "But look here, the man who painted that was starving himself to death in order to paint. He left his wife and children in order to become a painter. How can you say such a cruel thing that the painting is poor?" You would say: "I am very sorry. I don't say anything about the man. All I can say is that this is a poor painting. The efforts he made, the suffering he went through, this is an entirely different problem. I judge the painting just as I can judge that if somebody says 2 and 2 are 5 that is wrong. This is not a judgment about a person. This is not a judgment which is affective judgment, which is authoritarian judgment. It is just a judgment of fact which is very different from the judgment of the judge who says I, the judge, find you guilty and sentence you."

I think what is very important in psychoanalysis are two things. One, that the analyst doesn't judge in the first sense, namely, in the sense of the judge; on the contrary, we have to receive and accept the person completely even if he were the worst of all men. If we do understand him we do accept him that way. By understanding him I mean exactly what I was trying to say before; if we see him realistically. At the same time we must not lose our judgment in an intellectual sense, in the sense which I tried to convey in my example of the critic of a painting.

Most people feel that they are judged all the time. They are afraid of it so they are pleasant and repress things in order not to be judged. If you tell a patient, "Now look here, we both know you are a big liar; let's see why," and you say it with that attitude I was talking about of seeing him as he is, and he notices you don't judge him in any other sense, he is not shocked or hurt. You say it not just friendly, not just pleasantly, but you are with him. You *see* him. So here is a tree which is a little crooked but it is just as real a tree as one which is not crooked. All right, if our aim is to have the tree be less crooked and grow better we might do something about it. So with a person. But the first thing is, I see you. I can say to you in any form that—this is you. At the moment I see you, you are neither good nor bad. I am you. I am the patient and I might also say, and quite realistically, that just as much as the analyst cures the patient (if he does) the patient cures him, for the very reason I was talking about; because, in analyzing somebody else, you have to go

through his own neurosis. You have to bring to life all that is in the patient and by bringing it to life you notice it. You become aware of it. Something goes on in you. And, in fact, as always in life, if we help somebody else we help ourselves. I tried to explain a little bit better what I mean by love here. I mean by love—full realism—the ability to see the person as he is. That means not only intellectually but with the whole person—from center to center, not from periphery to periphery.

When I see the person, this one person in his complete uniqueness, this hero; only in this way is knowledge possible. With the living subject, full knowledge is possible only in the act of relatedness, which is different from the method in natural science. You may say it is a method of the arts, and I personally don't care whether psychoanalysis is called an art or a science. In fact, I think there is in the science of man only one method, namely, you can really understand the living only as long as life persists. Only then do I have psychological knowledge. Even then I do not have complete knowledge. I do not believe that we have any complete knowledge about any other person except in the act of love.

Inasmuch as a psychoanalyst or psychotherapist wants to understand another person, he must see the person with utmost realism, without judging in the one sense of the word and not in a relationship of observer to object but in the most active relatedness in which we become him. Then we may know something about him. Then we may tell him something which is helpful. Only then do we give him the one feeling which I think is an essential part of any kind of psychotherapy; that is the feeling of sharing, the feeling of being understood. No one ever feels understood if it is only or mainly intellectual understanding. It is something quite different if you can say to a person, "I know," or if he feels you know.

I am speaking here of things quite different from some things which could be confused with it. I am not speaking of erotic love. Erotic love is something unfavorable to the therapeutic situation, certainly unfavorable if it occurs with the analyst and to some extent if it occurs to the patient, although the latter can't always be helped. I must say that in my experience the great dramatic transferences which sometimes occur during psychoanalysis occur much more frequently in the traditional, classical situation, in which everything is so unreal and so intentionally infantile, than they occur in the more realistic situation in which I practice, in which I sit in front of the patient.

Another kind of love should be avoided. That is the kind of sentimental mother love which some patients have been stuffed with all their lives. Many analysts and psychotherapists think the best

they can do for the patient is to be encouraging. You say he is not so bad, this is his father's fault, his mother's fault, the great-mother, the grandfather, and you are just nice. And in that way you give him a good feeling and you earn your money. Sometimes the patient feels a little better because it is very nice to have somebody you can talk to or who is nice to you and never criticizes. Therapeutically it doesn't lead anywhere.

Another misconception of love is something I hear very often from analysts, the fear of hurting the patient. Usually it is the analyst who is afraid, not the patient. If you are one with the person, if you are concentrated, if you love him in that sense, you know you won't hurt him in the sense that is feared. Sure, a doctor or a dentist has to do certain things which hurt for a moment. The same occurs in psychotherapy. You tell a patient something which has been repressed or is unpleasant, he feels hurt. But this feeling of hurt is quite different from the feeling of hurt by what is hostility or indifference. Actually the patient feels hurt, yes, but he feels at the same time relieved because that is what he knew all the time. Now somebody tells it to him but he tells it to him in a very human, realistic way.

In summary, I would say that one should be very much on one's guard against confusing love in therapy with erotic love, false sentimentality, fear of hurting. I would say the analytic relationship, the relationship in psychotherapy, should be defined as that of utmost realism and participation. While in cases of psychosis as Rosen describes it or Sechehaye describes it this may imply an acting out of certain roles beyond what I have said here for the treatment of neurosis, I think the basic requirement is this realism in which I am related to the patient in an active, creative, human sense. That is what I mean by love.

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A LOGIC OF LIFE AND HEALTH

ROSS L. MOONEY*

My Background and Approach to the Problem of Health

What I have to say about health grows out of a particular background of experience.

I was reared on a farm. My playmates were usually the things of nature. I would watch an ant crawl up a blade of grass and try to figure out what it must be like to be on the inside of an ant, to feel with its feelers, to run with its legs, to decide with its decider. I would also inhabit other growing things, the bleating lamb, the bounding dog, the flying bee, the shooting stock of corn. I accepted myself as one of these growing things; I put myself in their company.

This intimate connection with nature was not only something I felt in a directly participating way, but something I could see as very real. If our potato crop failed, we had no potatoes to eat. If the weeds took the sweet corn, we had no sweet corn to eat. If *we* were to eat and grow, we had to make arrangements to see that potatoes and corn had *their* chance to eat and grow. The farmer's whole way of life depended on his giving his life to the making of arrangements so that living things, receiving life, could give their life in return. Life succors life through reciprocal connections.

Later, I went to college. After two and a half years, though I had done well in high school, my grades were sinking. I was on my way to failure because I could not sense the response of the institution to my needs. The reciprocal connection wasn't there in the arrangements that were made. The institution didn't seem to care about the growing of me; it seemed more interested in its arbitrary schedule of history at ten o'clock on Monday, Wednesday and Friday, French at two, and so on. The institution had its pattern laid out without seeming to care what the pattern of my evolving life required. Put in the terms of the farmer, it was as though a farmer compulsively cared about the *plowing* of the corn but did not care about the *corn*. The college was compulsively caring about the operation of its system of cultivation but was not caring about the living things for whom the cultivation was intended. The living things were lost sight of. My life in the college did not seem to matter to the college. The connections were cut so

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that my expending energy did not return to me. I became exhausted. I quit college and went back to the farm to think.

Among the things of nature, I found my bearings. I became more aware of the basic law of life as I am discussing it here. As my energy returned, my thinking turned more toward the institutional situation in which I had been caught, asking whether the law that is true between man and nature is not true as well between man and man. I became convinced that this is so, and that men, in their relations with one another, must have arrangements which make for the reciprocity of life among them.

When men in charge of institutions lose track of this law and do not abide by it, they are themselves already dying and they are killing those with whom they are institutionally entangled. Institutions can kill and do kill; college was killing my spirit and this had also become a killing of my body. The spiritual, the social, the psychological and the physical are all in one bundle, operating as one law of life, applicable everywhere and at all levels. Men's institutions must obey this law. Colleges must so make their arrangements that what teachers do with students grows out of the teacher's primary respect for the students as living, growing creatures who, in communicating their own growth and glory as living human creatures, return life to the teachers.

Knowing this more as feeling than as thought, my strength returned and supported my conviction that colleges should behave intelligently whether they were doing so or not. After nine months, I went back to school, intent on keeping myself well, despite the institutional illness, and intent, too, on having a part in bringing about changes which were needed.

The faculty were complaining about the failure of the student government to enforce the honor system, so a group of us got together and brought about a new student-faculty form of government where students and faculty could face one another under conditions of mutual responsibility and mutual respect. Dartmouth College students had just done an outstanding evaluation of the curriculum of their institution and we students asked of our president the chance to do the same kind of evaluation of our curriculum. Permission was denied. But we found a good teacher who understood us and the basic laws of life. He supported us and helped us to see that this struggle by man to transcend death in his institutions is a continuing struggle, worthy of a life's work. From this, I and others in that student group got our answer to the question of what our life's work would be.

This story goes on, but we have enough of it here to make the main point I want to make now; namely, that my background is such that I come into the question of health with certain convictions in mind.

You, too, come with your particular backgrounds and convictions in mind.

I am convinced, (a) that solution to problems of health rests, at bottom, on an understanding of nature's arrangements for the giving and receiving of life as it focuses through the individual organism in intimate engagement with its environment; (b) that men are creatures of nature, included as living forms, obeying the same basic laws as do other life forms; (c) that man has his uniqueness as a species and that each man is also unique within his species; each other species is also unique and each individual specimen unique in its species; (d) that the physiological, the psychological, the social and spiritual aspects of man are rooted in one basic law of life and that a system of understanding for any one of these aspects is fundamental only if it illuminates all other aspects as well; (d) that ill-health in an organism is the product of arrangements tending to *decrease* the reciprocating life transactions that take place through the organism, while good health is the product of arrangements tending to *increase* the reciprocating life transactions that take place through the organism; (e) that human institutions can have sickening arrangements, can and do make people sick, can and do kill them.

In the years since college graduation (1929), I have become increasingly impressed with the first and the last of these points, i.e., with the need for an understanding of nature's arrangements for the giving-and-receiving of life and with the need to get our institutions under control so that we have institutional arrangements harmonious with those of nature, enriching life rather than killing it. My feeling concerning my own role in these matters has been that, while I needed to take some part in the direct reform of institutions, I could not make a basic contribution to reform until I, and others, had a positive understanding of nature's arrangements for the giving-and-receiving of life. Otherwise, we would have no positive goal to guide us, no means of evaluation of present practice, and no way of transcending our own ignorance.

I have put several years into trying to understand nature's life-arrangements, coming into the problem from the various sides of the physical, the psychological, the social and the spiritual, seeking a common center for them all. I need now to try to communicate to you what my experience has brought me to in answer to this question. We are aiming at a logic of life and health.

Essential Conditions for Life and Health

What I am trying to create here is a thought-model of what I take to be most valuable in guiding inquiry into life and health. I have come to four interdependent dimensions in my thought:

(1) We can begin by visualizing a large circle made with a broken line. This is to represent the universe, the breaks in the line symbolizing an open rather than a closed universe. Within the universe are a multitude of energy forms—rocks, seas, air, earth, tides, winds, animals, vegetables, minerals, atoms, molecules, radio waves, etc.—all in intricate connection, all one synchronous system, composing, changing and recomposing constantly.

Into the big circle of the universe, one can put a lot of little circles (also with broken lines) to represent these individual energy forms. One of these is to represent a man, you or me. If we were to draw such a circle to scale within the universe, it would be the tiniest speck indeed, for the relative space one of us occupies in the universe is very, very small, and the relative time one of us lives is hardly an instant, taking the vastness of the universe into account. This helps us to realize that we are *in* a universe, not out of it; we are *of* it, not apart from it. We are born, we live, and we die *in* it. Everything we do, or are, or become, is synchronous within the total system. *Our relations run to all the other energy forms in the universe, in one dependency and belonging.* Symbolizing this relation, we can visualize arrows pointed outward from the circle of a man into all the rest of the universe. These outgoing arrows stand for the *first* of the four essential conditions to which I would call your attention.

(2) Outgoing relations have their concomitant relations coming in, for, not only does a man extend outward toward all else in the universe, but all else comes in toward a man as well. His existence gives him a time-space spot to be in, and, at that location, all the universe comes into focus. A man perceives the universe, acts in it, organizes it, comprehends it, all from the locus of his being, his time-space location. *To exist is to have this being, this unique organizing spot which is one's own and no other.* Other beings occupy their respective spots. Each being, in turn, composes the universe from its particular location. The universe as a whole is the togetherness of all these being-positions. To signify this very significant *second* condition for the existence of man, we can visualize arrows drawn from various points in the environment toward the circle of man, complementing the outward arrows representing the opposite relatedness.

(3) Inside the circle of man, there is much going on: blood circulating, food digesting, neural impulses traveling, muscles tensing and releasing, glands functioning, atoms dancing, etc. Each of us is a multitude of these energy forms, all in synchronous relation as a system, all forming and reforming constantly. Maintaining oneself alive depends on keeping these goings-on going on as a system. When this ceases, one is not alive any longer; one is not a being.

Keeping the goings-on going on inside the system of a man de-

pends upon synchronous relations with goings-on outside the system. It is necessary to take in freshly usable energy forms from outside while energy forms are being transformed and expended from inside. This is well represented in daily life in the inhaling and exhaling of breathing, the eating and elimination of digestion, the perceiving and acting of conscious behavior. *There is a constant giving out and taking in by the organism, a continuous transacting across the borders of a man to give a sequential and orderly form to what goes on between inside and outside.* One can visualize this sequential, orderly flow by an infinity sign, or an 8 turned on its side, with one-half inside the organism and one-half out, and with arrow markings on its line to show the out-and-in-and-out-again of the infinite flow. This sign suggests the *third* essential condition.

(4) Reaching-out and receiving-in on the infinity sign cannot be blind. This activity needs to be selective. A man cannot eat all things, or at all times, or at all places, or in all ways, or for all reasons. Neither can he breathe everything, perceive everything, do everything. He's not an elephant, an ant or a blade of grass; he is a particular form called "man." Further, he is not all men, but the one man he is. This one man is not even all of himself at once, but only himself at each-particular-time-and-place as his life moves along. *Each act has its necessarily specific fittings according to what man's system then and there allows, invites and requires, and according to what his environment then and there offers, suggests and permits.*

This constant selecting on the part of a man works toward (a) inclusion within his system of what is needed, (b) exclusion from his system of what is damaging, and (c) toleration of what is left over, the remainder. To symbolize this important selective operation, one can visualize a plus sign, minus sign, and equals sign, placed at each end of the infinity sign. This represents the *fourth* essential condition for the living of man.

To summarize in the language of dimensions, the essential conditions for the living of man are that he be able to operate with respect to, (1) *out*, signified by outgoing arrows, to declare man's extension into his universe, his belonging to the whole; (2) *in*, signified by incoming arrows, to declare man's centrality in his universe, his being, integrative of the whole; (3) *out-and-in-and-out-and-in-again-and-again*, signified by the infinity sign, to declare man's sequential ordering of his universe, his continual coming to be (becoming) through give-and-take, incoming and outgoing; and (4) *fit*, signified by the plus, minus and equals symbols at each end of the infinity sign, to declare man's selective ordering of his universe, his continual fitting of specific incomings and outgoings, his rendering potentialities actual in concrete sequential instances.

These are the four dimensions which have come to be fundamental in my "logic of life." Expressed geometrically, they are suggested by out, in, out-and-in-and-out-and-in-again-and-again, and fit. Expressed kinesthetically, they are suggested by openness (extension), centering (integration), sequential ordering, and selective fitting. Expressed psychologically and poetically as basic human needs, they are suggested by our yearnings for belonging, being, becoming and befitting.

Again and again, as I have tried to nakedly clarify what my mind was doing when it seemed most able to grasp a living form, I have come to such constructions in my thought. In a close study of what highly creative people seem to do to cultivate their creativity, it seemed to me that they sought (1) to hold themselves open for increasing inclusions within their experience, (2) to focus their experience through self-differentiation and self-realization, (3) to discipline themselves in order both to extend their opening and refine their focusing, and (4) to derive significance from their experiencing through dependence upon increasing esthetic sensibilities. In studying the arts as examples of man-made living forms, I have asked artists to tell me what they must have in their particular medium to have a living creation. The dramatists have said that, in their medium, the elementary conditions are a setting, actors, action and out of the fitting of these comes the play. Painters have said that, in their medium, the elementary conditions are ground, figure, tension and out of the fitting of these comes the painting. Musicians have said that in their medium, the elementary conditions are harmony, melody, rhythm, the fitting of which makes a song.

In biology, I have looked to see what biologists seem to feel they must cover before they have a well-rounded picture of a living creature, and I have found them talking about the environment, the creature, the transactions between the two, and the consequent adaptations. Looking into evolution for the progressions that men have found in moving from the simplest protozoa to the complexity of man, I have found what appears to me to be a dynamic ladder by which the climbing has been described, i.e., the development of an increasing openness to wider reaches of the environment, an increasing centering of action within the organism, an increasing span of sequential ordering, and an increasing selectivity, all four of these operating as one tension system, a development of one (encouraged by environmental circumstance) in turn requiring the development of the others. Life has thus been able to evolve its increasingly complex forms.

In studying the development of American cultural life, and then the longer sweep of Western European civilization, it seems to me that we have consistently pushed for ever wider inclusions (land, natural resources, and now technology), which in turn have pushed for greater

centralizations (in larger and larger economic, political and social units), which in turn have pushed for regulating orders to tie together more actions in sequential systems (increasing systems of law, regulations and customs), which in turn have pushed for the accomplishment of more refined and extended judgments of the fittings of all this (increasing communication lines with increasing energy given to asking deliberate questions and seeking deliberate answers, most sharply suggested in the development of research). To me, this is all in one self-generating system which is tied into the basic urges of life. We have a remarkably dramatic example in sputnik, which, extending man off the earth, forces unity more clearly on Russia and America, while increasing our efforts at longer range and more comprehensive controls, and accentuating still greater need for research, still more specialists to make the increasingly complex and refined fittings, etc.

In clinical psychology, I find therapy to be a process which is aimed at increasing the client's openness to wider ranges of experience, his ability to integrate the widened inclusions into one, which, in turn, increases the range of his controls and provides him with the greater satisfactions of a more fitting and fulfilling life. Therapy is a form of life taking place and should follow the basic laws of life. So also with learning. Learning is a name for more inclusions, given relation, increasing the span of man's control and the refinement of his fittings. And so it goes—including the religious, which seems to emphasize a wider belonging in the universe, a more vivified being, a more assured and longer-range becoming, and more of the beauty and glory of life-fulfilled in its most refined realizations.

In life everywhere, whether it be in the physical, biological, psychological, social or spiritual, the same thought-model sooner or later emerges for me.

It is therefore to this model that I am now willing to turn for more extensive logical grasp upon life events, upon creation, growth and health. I am convinced that all these are within one necessity, one law, one universe, one realization. In such terms, health can become something more than the absence of illness. It can stand for the vivification of something quite positive, infinitely open for more and more. It can have many facets and call for the inclusion of the thought and efforts of many people from many different disciplines and many walks of life.

The Position of Merrill-Palmer

In offering you this thought-model for consideration, I am not so much interested that you should pay homage to the model as I am that you should pay homage to the need, in our culture, for germinating *some* positive model for life, growth, creation and health. I feel America will not be spiritually free to act in these decades until she

has given birth, out of her own experience, to her own naming of what is the central value and meaning of man.

This is a time comparable to that of the founding of our nation, when, catalized by the realizations of a Jefferson and The Declaration of Independence, we transcended diversity and became one. This was a great rallying time, when men declared the heart of what they took themselves to be living for and laid out the rules of the game by which they wished to be related to one another. There is a similar call today.

But the modern statement has to grow out of the hunger and trying of many people. It needs to be not only agreeable as wisdom which is consonant with the deepest wisdom of the ages but it needs also to be a modern birth that releases the particular tensions of the modern mind. This includes, I believe, a pragmatically tough intellectual formulation which can act as guide to testable research by man upon himself. We seem required to make formal use of our intelligence in learning about ourselves so that we may hope to be as effectively operative in our human controls of ourselves as we have become in the technological controls of physical machines.

I have felt I could talk to you, the staff of Merrill-Palmer, with more than usual candor about my personal background, my consequent convictions, and my most central deductions because I have sensed, both in the commission of your founders and in the composition of the personnel here, that you have a calling which must put you close to the calling of which I speak. There must be many of you who hear what I hear when I listen to our people. There must be many of you who have suffered because, being required to be true to your own sense of life, creation, growth and health, you have had to tell your culture it was sick and you were not. This usually exacts a price. At the same time, there must be many of you who know, too, the deep joy of that quiet holding spot where you know what your life work must be given to.

Feeling this, I have been eager to join your company these two days and to meet with you the challenge of clarifying what we intend "health" to mean. To me, the answer is aimed at the realization of the natural greatness of man, taken in his pristine potentiality. It takes me back to the elementary questions of my youth, amidst the things of nature, loving life, and placed in counterpoint against the later struggle for transcendence of institutionalism, a sickness that has brought us, oh so close, to death.

It is a moot point with me whether or not we have not already died too much; can we get the vision of man that will let us put our institutions under control? I take it that our mutual answer to this is that we have no choice but to act as if life were worth preserving and enhancing.

CONFORMITY, CONVICTION, AND MENTAL HEALTH

MARTIN L. HOFFMAN*

American psychology has become increasingly concerned with problems revolving around social conformity. I believe this concern is a reflection of our living in a culture which places all of us under two kinds of conflicting stresses. On the one hand there is the pressure to be an individual and behave autonomously. Perhaps more than any other people in the world we are subjected to pressures to learn to act on our own initiative, to use our own judgment, to rely on our own abilities, and to achieve success on the basis of our own individual efforts—in short, to be highly autonomous and self-directed entities. At the same time, foreign as well as domestic observers of our social scene have pointed up the existence of many pressures to conform, some of which lie outside the individual and some of which are already internalized as part of what has come to be called the “American character structure.” The ramifications of the conflict between strong pressures to be an individual and strong pressures to conform is the central focus of my paper.

To begin with, I would like to try to clarify the concept of conformity. Many behaviors are given the label of conformity which at least from the psychological standpoint should not be so designated because they do not involve motivation to conform. I will give a few illustrations. First, there is the tendency on the part of many people, including social scientists, to infer automatically that an individual is conforming when he is seen to behave similarly to those about him. This is often an erroneous inference, since it is obviously possible for two people to behave identically without regard for what one another is doing. They may, for example, be responding independently to an external stimulus or event which impinges on each of them in the same way and which demands a certain kind of response. An obvious illustration of this is when umbrellas are carried and raincoats worn in response to threatening clouds. Having similar possessions has also been used as the basis for inferring conformity. Thus a number of otherwise astute social observers have cited as evidence for an increasing trend toward conformity in our country the fact that so many people live in houses which look the same, drive identical cars,

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and wear similar clothes. The error here appears to lie, among other things, in ignoring the economic advantages of consuming goods which have been produced in a standardized manner. A person who finds that he can live better within his means by purchasing articles which are mass-produced need not be conforming to others who happen to be doing the same thing.

As we move from the realm of overt behavior and material possession to that of *opinion*, the distinction between what is and what is not conformity becomes more difficult to make. It may seem quite reasonable to make the inference that one is conforming when his opinions and judgments are in accord with those of the other people about him. Yet opinion agreement also may reflect something other than conformity. I could, for example, grow up in a background which happens to be similar to your background, face situations very much like those which you face, and more or less logically draw the same conclusions that you do. Through independent thought we could thus develop similar views. Similarly, the person who believes as the majority of his cultural group believes is not necessarily a conformist, although he might appropriately be referred to as one who holds conventional views.

A similar analysis could be made for non-conformity. Thus, the person who behaves differently, dresses differently, or holds different opinions from those about him may be rebelling or trying to be different. But he may also be expressing taste, judgment, and conviction which have been arrived at individually with little regard for the majority view. Or, he may merely be expressing a cultural background which is different from that of the other people in the group.

The point being stressed here is that there are many possible reasons for uniformities in behavior and that one can not, therefore, tell merely from appearances whether or not a person is reflecting a need to conform. For a person to conform requires that he not only act like the others about him but that he try to do so. That is, conformity implies the *motivation* to emulate others.

There appear to be two basic types of conformist motivation. One type is that which results from outside pressure. For example, the threat of physical punishment, material deprivation, or emotional rejection by authorities or peers might lead one to try to behave like the others, to look like the others, and to express opinions consistent with their opinions. The predominant motive here is fear of external reprisal.

Another type of conformist motivation comes from within the individual. Here the individual is motivated to conform apart from external considerations. Even in the absence of external pressures he has within him the need to go along with the others and to be like

them. A possible dynamic underlying this type of conformity motivation is that the individual has been brought up in such a way as to learn that one always gets rewarded for conforming and/or punished for not conforming. He may then carry these expectations into new situations where the social realities no longer justify them. In short, he inappropriately generalizes his fear of the consequences of not conforming. Another possible basis of internally motivated conformity is that one has been taught to associate non-conforming and disagreeing with rebelling and being hostile, and at the same time has become a person who is overly anxious about hostility. In this case non-conformity is tantamount to the expression of hostility, and conformity becomes one of the mechanisms used to avoid guilt or anxiety. Undoubtedly there are many other possible dynamics underlying an inner need to conform.

Non-conformist motivation may also be the result of either external pressure or inner prompting. With non-conformity, the external pressures are apt to consist of individualistic cultural norms and/or the expectations of significant persons in one's environment. Inner forces toward non-conformity may on the one hand reflect hostility and rebelliousness which have become generalized toward all forms of authority including peer group norms; or they may not be such a reaction against authority at all but merely a reflection of (1) one's needs for integrity and freedom from arbitrary imposition from without, or (2) one's autonomy in decision making and indifference to the general climate of opinion.

Whichever motivational dynamics may be operating there is always the possibility of conflict between pressures to conform and pressures to be true to one's self. Let us consider some of the ways people handle this conflict. One obvious reaction is to yield to the agent producing the pressure to conform. Such conformity may save one from the agent's threatened sanctions, but it may also result in a loss of self respect and perhaps a certain amount of shame or guilt at violating one's integrity. Another reaction to the conformity-independence conflict is to stand by one's position and resist the pressures to conform. The result here may well be punishment from without, but internally one's self respect is maintained and perhaps enhanced. A choice exists, then, between conforming and thereby avoiding external reprisal, though at the expense of one's self respect; and not conforming, which maintains one's self respect while leaving one open to reprisal from without.

The individual who characteristically chooses to conform may, when in a situation placing a value on individualism, become motivated to detect *beforehand* the relevant opinions of others who are important to him. He learns how to assess their views before

they express them (and before he has committed himself), i.e., by observing their facial expressions, making the appropriate inferences from their expressed views about related issues, or taking advantage of heresay regarding their opinions. These techniques when used successfully enable him to safely express these views before they do, and thus to give the impression of having *independently* arrived at them, although in reality he has conformed. This process of deliberately feigning one's independent agreement with others has an unconscious counterpart. One type of motivation that might prompt one to unconsciously perceive agreement where it did not exist would be that of avoiding the guilt or shame that a person with even moderate integrity needs would feel if he consciously feigned agreement. The unconscious perception of agreement where it does not exist, for the purpose of avoiding guilt, can be classified as a defense mechanism in the true psychoanalytic sense. Its functioning is facilitated by the fact that most social issues about which people hold opinions have a certain amount of ambiguity and vagueness about them. This helps make it possible for one who is so motivated to perceive himself in agreement with others when in fact there is disagreement. Consciously he sees himself and the other as having independently arrived at the same point of view. This mechanism is probably used often by most people since we are all psychologically capable of making the necessary unconscious perceptual distortions and since it allows us to "have our cake and eat it too," i.e., to satisfy the important person or group exerting pressure on us without at the same time damaging our self esteem.¹ Like other defense mechanisms, however, it is neurotic because of the self deception, and in the long run perhaps the self destruction, that is involved.

This discussion of some unsatisfactory responses to the conformity-independence conflict leads us to the much more difficult question of what is the healthy way to respond in such situations. This is a more difficult question because we are much more advanced in our knowledge of unhealthy behavior than in our knowledge of healthy behavior. What follows, then is highly speculative.

It seems to me that the healthy response to the conformity-independence conflict is first of all to be sufficiently oriented to the social realities of life to be able to recognize a divergence of views when it exists instead of deceiving oneself into thinking there is no divergence. Second, the development and maintenance of a stable self-identity would seem to require that one stand by his convictions in the face of arbitrary pressure from without. How far one should go

¹ It should be noted that another defense that serves the same function is to avoid the conformity-independence conflict in the first place by not developing any convictions.

in doing this would seem to depend on many things such as how strongly he feels about the issue in question, how much change is demanded of him, and how much pressure is applied on him to change. The situation is further complicated when one is responsible for others whose fates also hinge on his response. Thus, it may be that under certain conditions the healthy response would be to hold to one's views and take whatever punishment follows, while under other conditions the healthy response might be to conform overtly while maintaining one's inner convictions. (In the latter case, a certain amount of shame or guilt probably would have to be tolerated, although under severe pressure one might feel righteous despite the discrepancy between conviction and behavior.) The situation obviously is different when the external pressure involves fact and reason rather than arbitrary threat. Under such conditions it would appear to be much healthier to be able to face the arguments, weigh them, and perhaps incorporate them into one's thinking than to defensively evade them in order to maintain one's opinions intact. Being persuaded to change one's views by factual presentation and logical argument is, of course, quite different from conforming under arbitrary pressure.

Which of these responses is to be preferred depends upon the realities of the particular situation. But they all appear to be psychologically healthier than the self deceptive responses discussed earlier, despite the fact that they may involve more conscious conflict and in some cases, pain.

A few words on the kind of person most apt to respond to conformity-independent conflicts in a healthy manner. I would tentatively suggest that such a person has a relatively complex and stable system of values which are held together by one or more highly internalized and deeply held basic ideals or principles. These basic principles arise out of experience and provide the core of one's conscience. Examples are mutual trust, fair play, and respect for the rights of others. There would also be other values which derive from these core principles, and which eventually shade into instrumentalities or specific notions of how one should behave in real life situations in order to be most consistent with one's principles and to reconcile any conflicts between values, impulse needs, and the changing demands of social reality. In such a value system the amount of emotional involvement and conviction would diminish somewhat from the core principles to the more peripheral values and instrumentalities. Arbitrary outside attacks on the core principles would accordingly be resisted strenuously although they might be changed under intense and prolonged stress. The instrumentalities, on the other hand, would be more amenable to change especially through rational discussion, as the individual is aware that there well may be alternative means to the same

end and that others who share his principles may differ in their conceptions of how best to achieve them. Such a value system would appear to contribute to a stable self-identity while at the same time allowing for flexibility or, better, *resiliency* in response to the many and varied demands of social reality.

These are the tentative views of one psychologist who is interested in the issues involved in the development of a stable set of values and the maintenance of a proper balance between yielding too readily in response to arbitrary pressure and rigidly adhering to one's views in the face of fact, logic, and experience. The striking of such a balance between personal integration and reality demands is a central problem for the individual and for society. We need to know more about this problem and to direct more energy in the search for suitable resolutions.

THE HEALTHY PERSONALITY OF OUR TIME

CAROL BALLINGALL *

When asked to preface my remarks today with a brief autobiographical sketch, I asked myself: What in my experience of life and of people is relevant for those here today to have in mind while we consider together the topic at hand? On one level, everything that one has done, every situation one has been part of, every person one has known, has influenced in some degree one's thinking on any subject. Certainly all experience to date has influenced my thinking on what is the healthy human personality. I shall necessarily content myself to remain on another, more directly pertinent level: I shall cite those several experiences which accustomed me to see and to think as an anthropologist. Thus this sketch may serve two purposes simultaneously: it can also demonstrate what type of contribution an anthropologist may be expected to make in a psychological area.

First, I was brought up by rural people—but in a strictly urban setting. Second, my own parents began raising a family very much later in life than people in this country normally do; I gained a vivid and detailed feeling for the way of life in this country of 20 years before my time. This, of course, I gained while living in my own time with its own variant of the American culture. Third, the two parts of my university life were within two institutions organized for quite different purposes. During my undergraduate training at Wayne State University, I became part of an institution which means to be, and which is, a part of the local community; it is organized to turn out teachers, medical people, etc., for the Detroit metropolitan area. My four years of graduate work at the University of Chicago acquainted me with an institution set up to train people for lives in scientific research and in scholarship. Thus, even within the relatively restricted range of variation that university life in this country affords, I was privileged to experience two distinct varieties. Fourth, my life as an anthropologist has allowed me the richest possible experience of different societies—of different “worlds.” I refer to my 18 months, while doing anthropological research there, of living with the Barok speaking people in the territory of New Guinea. Then my experience in Australia, working for and with the Australians, living in the Australian manner, on an Australian income, contributed mightily to

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my understanding that indeed each society's people live within their own unique "world"; from the individual's place within his world, should he glimpse some aspect of another—say the Japanese or the English world—he experiences only strangeness and incomprehensibility.

From the foregoing, it should be evident that a social anthropologist, including this one, by ingrained habit sees not culture but cultures, not society but societies, sees not individuals but individuals within social situations, behaving and thinking in culturally patterned ways. Each society with its own culture is a world itself—each is unique.

Proceeding from this base, if the anthropologist should inquire about some aspect of the human estate generally, his first step is still to look at the aspect specifically. His first step is to look for it in known individuals living in known societies, following known cultures. He then compares. Similarities in form, content, and function of that aspect of human life in several of these worlds, the anthropologist suggests, may well stem from the essentially human qualities of these bearers of various cultures: "Essentially human" I use in contrast to "essentially cultural" or learned—and thus amenable to change. Similarities of human life and/or of human beings that stem from essential humanness we would best include in any plans we are considering for a group of people—regardless of who they are, where they live during what time. In accord with my anthropologist's orientation, I have duly made specific our conference topic: I shall be thinking with you about the healthy personality of our time *and of our place*—modern, urban America.

I have also had to define "healthy personality" in such a way that I can work with it. My training does not allow me to speak of personality organization or of personality dynamics; I know little superficially about these phenomena. Also, the anthropological literature includes very, very little of personality organization and dynamics. However, both the literature and I have something to contribute if we define healthy personality as "a personal organization that functions effectively—that takes an individual comfortably through his life, which in every detail is within the moulding and limiting context of a particular society with its particular culture." In other words, for us today: healthy is as healthy does.

My first step in preparing for today was to search the literature, my notes and my memory for serene old persons. Individuals nearly finished with their lives have proof that their personal organization has functioned effectively, or that it has not, in some significant degree. Individuals who have years of living yet ahead of them do not have this order of proof.

Although I scarcely hoped for success, in fact I met with it. Through my comparison of old individuals from several societies, I found in all of the serene ones what seems to be a three-legged base to their *various* healthy personalities. Let me stress that I do not know the make-up, as such, of these healthy personalities. The similarities I found among their organizations to life seem, rather, similarities of foundation upon which each has built his own personality. I shall be talking about this tripod base for healthy personalities. I shall not be talking about healthy personalities per se.

One leg of the tripod seems to be in every instance a sense of self-value, self respect. Taking examples from the Barok speaking people of the South Pacific, where, without exception, the old folk live within a self-respect, I think immediately of Ge. Ge is father of six grown children. He sits today as he has sat for 20-25 years, unable to get around because the muscles in his legs have wasted away. He is comfortably and contentedly living out his life within his hamlet and within the village of which his hamlet is part. That he can't get around is one of the facts of life that his personality organization has taken in stride.

I think of Mewa, mother of 11, six of whom are alive. She goes to her gardens daily, takes a full share of interest and responsibility in community affairs.

I think also of Mani who never had any children at all. She is a strong old lady who does the major work in raising food for herself, her two also old, but blind, clanswomen, and her even older husband. She also has the strength and interest to carry out all clan and communities duties. Many of the former require her to walk four miles to the next community and back.

Ge, Mewa, Mani, during the 18 months I knew them, bowed to no man and to no circumstance. Self-respect radiated from every lineament of posture, every cast of expression, every inflection of voice. They were filled with a zest for life which they spent happily carrying out their daily tasks, happily interacting, enjoying the company of their fellows of all ages. And no one of them was dismayed by the imminent end of life. Whence grew their self-respect? This question we shall consider later.

An "at-homeness" with a particular small group of people seems to be another leg of the tripod. Once again, I shall take my examples from Barok. The individual Barok grows up not within the context of a family, a household, or even a clan. He grows up within the context of a community. He is born into a particular small community of 26-60 people. Into that community he simply grows in the process of development and socialization. With what group of people an individual belongs is a question that never arises; everyone

knows the Barok person belongs with the people of the community into which he grew from childhood. Whether he marries out of that community (which actually happens for 25% of Barok people today), whether he leaves these people for long years of work in far away places, at any time he may return to his place with them. For example, very ancient Tuwagis, except for two brief periods, spent his entire adult life working on European plantations in far away places. Too feeble for such work he returned home shortly before I arrived in Barok-land. The people of his community reproach him from time to time for having neglected clan and community obligations for all those years, but no one at all questioned where on this earth he belonged. Everyone knew.

Or, immediately after Momo's wife died the old gentleman returned to the people of his youth. His married daughter and her children, his married son, and his neighbors of some 35 years standing would have liked him to stay with them in his deceased wife's community, Kamalabu. No one felt free to urge him to stay; they knew he did not *belong*—that he was not “at-home” with them, but with another group. Everyone feels the fitness of his coming—a visitor to Kamalabu two or three times each year, and then returning to his own people.

The third leg of the base seems to be a sense of oneness with a whole that is very much more stable, very much larger than the individual himself, and the tiny group with whom he is “at home.” The serene old folk of Barok and of many other societies are “at-one” with a particular spot on the face of this earth. A healthy Barok personality might well say of this spot on the globe: This is where I came from; this is where my forbears came from; this is where I belong. Such an individual has no nagging anxiety about *where* he belongs. He belongs here. He cannot be thrown out, cheated out of his at-oneness with the particular locale of his youth with its hamlets, hills, gardens, reefs, rivers.

I have given you today only a part of the comparative data from several societies upon which I rest the assumption: the tripod described above is indeed the basis upon which a human individual builds a healthy personality for himself while living in any society during any period.

Now I should like to ask: out of what individual life experiences is this tripod fashioned? In this section I shall sketch briefly the normal life experience of the Barok individual—particularly during the years before maturity—which seems relevant. Then I shall sketch briefly the comparable normal life experience of the modern, urban American.

As I pointed out, all of the old folk of the seven Barok communi-

ties in which I studied and lived are serene old folk. Everyone radiates a sense of his own individual worth. We can thus safely assume that the material of the individual Barok's self-respect resides in the experiences available to all. Perhaps he acquires his self-respect somewhat in the following manner. Each Barok is incontrovertibly a part of the particular community he grew up into. He and everyone else in it know that that community is made up of very fine people only; therefore, the Barok individual has proof that he is a very fine person.

Perhaps the Barok acquires his sense of "at-home-ness" in the following manner: In growing into the particular tiny community, he has around him those with whom he is forever "at-home." Remember, no one ever leaves a Barok community group—he may be temporarily absent for decades, but he never leaves. Even in death, he is buried within the territory belonging to that group. It is tiny—26-60 or so people, but not so small that the death of one seriously changes the character of the whole.

Perhaps the Barok acquires his sense of "at-one-ness" in the following manner: To be born is to belong to a particular locale in Barok-land; to grow up is to grow into consciousness of a personal at-one-ness with this place that has been before the individual Ge or Mani, or whoever, and will be after him. It would be difficult, indeed, for a single Barok to miss this acquiring consciousness, since those around him all have acquired it, and in the same manner.

Contrast the normal life experience of the individual in our own society—which is perhaps the most complex that has yet appeared on this earth. The modern American is born into a tiny nuclear family; it is so tiny that if it remains stable in composition until the individual reaches his majority, good fortune is to be thanked. It is so tiny that the death or defection or replacement of a single member changes the entire character of the group.

Immediately the modern American begins what is his life long experience: moving about from group to group, from individual to individual—from obstetrician to pediatrician, to hospital, to home, to church, to supermarket A, to supermarket B, to nursery school, to bus-load of people, etc., etc. Such participations make up much of his daily experience from birth to death. In most of these groups, he, along with everyone else in them, is a stranger in some degree. In fact, we would be more accurate to term most of these groups rather social machines. Only certain specified facets of an individual can be brought into play in any one of these machines in which an individual participates. If he brings into play other than those certain facets; if he brings into play more than those facets, he is not filling his part. The whole machine is thrown out of kilter. And everyone

else with a part to play in it is upset. An individual *cannot* be at-home with the group of people participating in any one of these social machines.

This condition of life in today's America in effect challenges the individual's sense of worth. So much time, so much effort is spent daily doing a part in making first one, then another social machine go, that the thinking individual is often caused to ask himself: Is this (assembly man at Dodge Main auto plant, instructor at Merrill-Palmer School, manager of the household) all I am? Are these limited things I do here all I'm worth?

Then very few modern, urban Americans grow up in one self-contained locale. We grow up in many—house, yard, block, neighborhood, "downtown," "the lake." Our parents, we hear and perhaps know, live part of their daily lives in still other locales. Each of these, in our experience, is in some degree a separate locale with its own character. The individual *belongs* in no one of them in the final analysis.

The experiences from which the serene old men and women of Barok have built the tripod for their effective personalities normally are not those of the modern, urban American. Yet, we have our serene old people. Each of us, undoubtedly, knows such individuals. We also have old people who certainly are not serene. Let us look at individuals again—this time American ones.

What experience have Individual A, B, etc., used to fashion self-respect? A certain old Jewish lady immediately comes to my mind. She, with her husband, had emigrated to this country many years before we met. She introduced herself to me: I am the mother of my two sons. She was *not* a serene old lady; she was an anxious one. Luckily for her, her two sons continued to live. Her husband was a serene old man. Said he: "I have never cheated anyone in my life. Many people have cheated me out of rents, out of money, but I have never cheated anyone in my life. I am an honest man."

Another old person spent his last months in childish irresponsibility. His sense of individual worth had been irrevocably tied to his performing in his profession. When ill-health forced him to retire from his profession, in his own eyes he had no personal worth.

From these examples it would seem that the normal experiences of American life afford us opportunities to fashion corruptible self-respect—made of relationship to certain living people—who are mortal; based on continued performance in certain roles. Many different circumstances can take from us any given role. The normal experiences of American life afford us also opportunities to fashion incorruptible self-respect. Incorruptible self-respect for us, as it is for the Barok, is necessarily made of what we *are*—essentially human,

perhaps, or like the elderly Jewish gentleman earlier, essentially honest. We can be what we are all of our adult lives.

Then, how do Americans fashion for themselves an at-homeness with a particular small group of people? Perhaps this is the most difficult leg of the tripod base for us to achieve. As I pointed out, in order to live our collective life as we have planned it over the generations, we need many organized groups, or social machines. The individual *cannot* be at-home with the others participating with him in a social machine. Also there are many more places in these organized groups than there are individual Americans; each of us has parts to play in several such machines. We must move about from one group of strangers to another.

Yet, as we look about us, we know that these participations are not all of life. A friend once put it: "The modern man spends all his time searching for his own small band." I think of the retired Chicago school teacher whose serenity was of a fiery nature; she was "at-home," and had been for years past, with two sisters who lived in the same apartment house she lived in. All three had a fine, dependable time disagreeing with each other. The three old ladies, each herself together with the others, built their small group in which to be "at home." Any small group of people with whom the modern urban American is at home he has built himself, with the others in it and mobility means that he has to do this over and over again as he goes through life.

Then, how can an American fashion for himself a sense of at-oneness with a large, enduring entity? My students, both here and at Wayne State University, often put this question, though they usually phrase it differently. They ask: "Don't all people need to believe in something greater than themselves?" Or, "Don't all people need to believe in something higher than themselves?" I take their questions to mean: I and my fellows consciously need to rest at one with an entity that we know to be more enduring than ourselves. What is such an entity? How can we know it?

It seems to me we have many possibilities to fashion for ourselves an at-oneness.

- 1) We are so mobile that it is possible for an individual to experience our society as the organized, interdependent entity it is. It is more enduring than anyone, or any generation of us.
- 2) Some of us have the experience to be at-one with a geographical locale. For example, I know an individual who is at-one with the upper peninsula of Michigan, another who is at-one with a particular part of the Maine Coast, still another with Chicago. These are enduring entities.

- 3) Still another possibility occurs for some of us. Many Americans are at-one with a people who are bound together by the many understandings of a sub-culture. Many Americans who are Jewish are thus at-one with the whole—the Jewish people. Such, too, is an enduring entity.

This leg of the tripod, perhaps more than the other two legs, we Americans can fashion for ourselves simply in the process of living. Perhaps here too, however, the Barok has the simpler task. Each person in this simple society, in fact experiences one and the same type of entity. Each Barok can help each other one to open his consciousness to the experience. (Whether they consciously do this, or no, I have not the data with which to say.) Life in America affords given individuals experiences of different types of such enduring entities—and thus all of us cannot help each of us.

CONCLUSION: It would seem that in our complex society responsibility devolves upon the individual to form for himself from the experience life affords him, the self-respect, the at-homeness, the at-oneness each of us must have as a base for a healthy personality. Many of us do not succeed in some degree. Many old American men and women are not serene old people. In the simple Barok society, the individual simply grows into his birth-right—the tripod for his healthy personality.

A GROUP FOCUSED APPROACH TO MENTAL HEALTH

IVOR J. ECHOLS*

The program of The Merrill-Palmer School Age Children Laboratory, a group-focused approach to mental health has, I feel, significance for persons interested in promoting or maintaining what George Stevenson, of the national mental hygiene group, has called "a condition of positive mental health." In that respect we see the work as "therapeutic."

The work with groups primarily serves to provide a laboratory in which students may observe and participate with the general goal of learning more about human behavior and human relationships. However, at no point is the fact disregarded that groups have purposes and goals determined by the persons served; from which must be derived the practices and standards for working with the group. The School Age Children Laboratory, aligning with the School's developmental emphasis, serves the school-age child (six to twelve years)—teen-agers in their own natural groupings and habitats, that is, working through already established agency groups—and, sporadically, some young adults.

The immediate staff consists of two trained social group-workers. Because of the interdisciplinary aspect of the School, consultations with persons from fields such as psychology, psychiatric casework, and anthropology are available upon request. Through direct work with children's groups which have been served, much has been learned. There are a few basic assumptions underlying any group-centered approach to people and I think it is well to reestablish these as a part of defining the approach at The Merrill-Palmer School.

1. We believe people can be helped in and through participation in group life when that participation is purposeful and when it is guided by understanding, well-trained leadership.
2. We have the conviction that all people have needs—"common-place" or "extraordinary"—which can be successfully met through sharing relationships with other human beings and that this viewpoint is compatible with the society in which we live.
3. We are convinced that some needs are best fulfilled through

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the group and that the efforts of the professional helper come to quicker fruition when individuals of similar or varying needs and tendencies can share ideas and experiences.

With these principles in mind, groups are formed which may be benefited from leadership with this point of view. Memberships in groups occur in one of three ways: First, members are obtained from among waiting lists of applicants who know of the School and wish to be considered, if they qualify by age or broad interest. With the school age child, the application most often is executed by the parent who desires this experience for the child. Selection becomes necessary, therefore, to determine those children who genuinely need and can use such a group experience and children who will through the aggregate of their individual behaviors, compose a group with enough similarity among individuals and sufficient diversity of interest and background among them to permit working together comfortably.

Professional "know-how" is required in accepting children for groups. Some obvious questions are: what is this child like; what is he seeking; what is he like on the surface, and what is he like underneath the surface? What is he like when other children are involved? What is he like with his parents—teachers—other adults?

Earlier, I used the lay terms "commonplace" and "extraordinary" to describe needs. These were used deliberately because now I wish to emphasize that I am writing about working with groups of children who have not been diagnosed professionally as "disturbed" or "damaged" and yet who show a remarkably wide gamut of needs, abilities, and patterns of behavior and interrelationships.

Group membership also is derived from agency referrals. Requests are received involving children with problems varying in degree, or children who do not seem to fit into traditional group programs. Our experience indicates that a limited number of these can be included in a group with other children who do not have the same degree or kind of difficulty, with valuable results for all. It is a great challenge for the professional worker to be able to ferret out basic needs and drives and help an individual recognize and develop his own ways of dealing with them, i.e., ways of living with himself.

Some members are obtained by direct recruitment. The basis for selecting a population may be multifold or single-purposed. For example, we may be seeking a homogenous group in terms of ethnic background, economic level, or residence. Two groups with which we have worked I describe as neighborhood groups and the members are from the area contiguous to Merrill-Palmer. Again, the purpose or goal which the School Age Children Laboratory has is directly related to the educational function of the School and it is usually felt that some of the educational goals can best be served through taking such

specialized groups, with which characteristics of group life and the professional leadership role can be rather dramatically illustrated.

The Neighborhood Girls group is composed of 12 children eight to ten years old. One eleven-year-old girl in the group who behaves much like the younger children without giving material evidence of retardation has been retained because she is showing signs of growth and accomplishment within this group. Also, she is a reminder that methods of grouping according to age ranges and categories of behavior are still woefully inadequate in determining which kind of group experience can best serve what kind of individual.

The girls have many attributes of a natural grouping, in living within perhaps 20 blocks of each other, attending the same school, coming from lower income families, and having limited social experiences and opportunities. We have documented these facts through observation, school contacts, and home visits. These girls are not, or have they ever been, active participants in other youth-serving groups such as neighborhood centers or Girl Scouts. Their geographical location seems to cut them off to some extent from these services and we have also noted a marked unawareness of these opportunities on the part of their parents.

Since the staff role is mainly that of working with the girls through their membership in the group we have not fully investigated why they are "falling through" other services. We have accepted the fact that they are very responsive to the enjoyment which the group provides through program activities. From conversations with them, they seem to have specific reasons for attending: they like something to do in the leisure time after school; they can get away from household chores; they have a chance to become better friends and they sometimes meet new friends when they do things with other groups; they learn new activities; and, they can do what they like to do. They like the leaders and regard them as friends.

In our estimation such experience with groups reduces professional group work to its simplest terms. It unlocks the mysteries of "fostering growth and development," "democratic participation" and makes our cliches sprout meaning and bear fruit.

We have worked with these girls for two years and fairly obvious changes have taken place: they are much more self-contained. They suggest activities and carry through many of them. They stay in their meeting room. They do not play mean tricks on the leaders such as kicking one in the shins, as happened once. They are taking increasing pride in "their room" and "their meeting place," identifying with the building and the totality of the program. At one meeting they drew a mural together, which was unheard of for this same group a year earlier. Each girl will take only one bottle of grape juice at re-

freshment time and will drink it without hiding it in her coat and carrying it surreptitiously away after the meeting. The bottles get to the waste basket with much less effort on the part of the leader.

The group planned their second annual camp outing and they felt and we felt that they could tolerate an overnight period. They taxed themselves dues of \$1.00 each to pay expenses. Whether the dues are ever paid it indicates, we feel, an appreciation for what is offered and a feeling of responsibility for helping to carry it through.

We have expanded our goal with this group to include closer cooperation with the school, patterned somewhat after the program which Paul Simon at the University of Illinois started; the intent is to determine whether the growth of these girls in a supplemental type group experience has any carry-over in the school. The principal's attitude is one of indulgence. He himself does not yet understand the agency—in this case The Merrill-Palmer School—he is not too hopeful about the potential which these youngsters have. It becomes our task to interpret our aims, goals and the progress which we feel has been made. In this way we will test a basic hypothesis that such supplemental group experiences can feed back into formalized group performance and even family group life.

The history of a comparable Neighborhood Boys group during the past two years has been intermittent, and its progress cannot so easily be charted. In a sense it will serve as a control group to test some of our successes with the girls.

Work with a group of five and six year olds is not going on at present. However, for three years the School Age Children Laboratory had groups for children just beyond the nursery school age who were entering public school. Members came from the Merrill-Palmer pre-school program waiting list and from among those who had been enrolled in that program and whose parents desired to continue membership which might facilitate the child's movement into new experiences. What became apparent very soon was that a good many children that age could not handle the additional group plus the school experience and the other extra-curricular activities which parents anxiously offered. Those who did have sufficient stamina were able to engage in a group situation much differently than those in some of the older groups. They generally showed much more dependence upon the adult leader for meeting personal needs as well as for initiating activities. What we did learn was that the children from so-called "privileged" families seemed to have as much need for opportunity to work and play together and learn socially acceptable ways of living together as did less-privileged groups. This again emphasizes that interesting, challenging group experiences are valuable to all kinds of people.

The Family Club is not a "school-age" experience but it does involve all members of six families, including children who are in school. Since all of the parents are relatively young, teen-agers are not represented in the group.

Some three years ago these six families were chosen from contacts with over twice that number. They expressed interest in forming a group with undetermined specific goals but with the general idea that because of the very busy lives which most people lead, families were not so closely knit as formerly and did not find time to do things together. Each family was interviewed separately to provide opportunity for the members to know the prospective leader, find out more about the School and to ask whatever questions seemed pertinent at the outset.

Weekly meetings were started with the group relying very much upon the leader for help with activity planning. The leader, under supervision, skillfully gave direct help but also encouraged self-direction by members of the group. At first their efforts at self-direction were inept and frustrating to them; they were sometimes angry because they were not told what to do, and said they did not know "what the School expected of them." Much of the time was spent going places and seeing things. When the excursions became boring, they fell back on those skills which they knew they had and felt confident in doing—cooking and serving, floundering attempts at simple crafts and the like.

In three years professional leadership has changed three times and has been provided by two women and one man. All six of the families have continued to attend, although one or two have been irregular. The program activities of the group reflect, we feel, the considerable progress which has been made—they recently had an enthusiastic copper enamelling session. The group continues to go places, but with a very different kind of motivation. It might be a skiing trip or, recently, a projected plan to secure tickets to "My Fair Lady" and attend in a group. The parents have felt much more comfortable in saying that they can still be a family when the children meet alone. They are having adult meetings from time to time for the expressed purpose of learning more about themselves, more about their children, and learning how to share their common objectives and concerns.

The parents started a process of evaluation which may lead to some basic changes in the group, possibly through the introduction of new members. They do not often ask what is expected of them; they are able to point out what they feel they have gained by participating in a club and what they would like to gain in the future.

In the group the fathers are professional or business people, the mothers are working mothers or housewives. The children have been

much more than just an adjunct to the whole venture; they have given suggestions and ideas and at many points have been adamant and uncompromising in their wishes and desires. Many of the parents have been surprised at the quality of their children's comments and actions. In a sense the Family Club is another proving ground for the efficacy of group membership and its potential for improved or strengthened family relationships.

Much of the foregoing must be documented by research projects which can refine our techniques and confirm or negate our conclusions. However, just as so much of our work in the area of mental health is experimental and yet in the hypothetical stage, we feel justified in continuing experimentation with a group-centered program which meets the needs of a number of individuals and provides satisfactions and enjoyment in the process.

I feel that there is much which is therapeutic in this work with "normal" children and "normal" families and that the Merrill-Palmer groups are normal in the sense that they represent our city and our nation's tremendous population of children and parents with desires and aspirations which need to be guided and buttressed toward positive mental health.

CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS AS AN INDICATION OF READINESS FOR FIRST GRADE

HELMUT HOFMANN *

This study was undertaken to determine whether the nature of drawings made by children in their kindergarten year is relevant to their general level of readiness for first grade work. This approach to the study of first grade readiness seemed particularly promising since in modern kindergarten programs art work plays a very important role among the activities of the classroom. Most children respond to these school activities with enthusiasm and joy and have little difficulty picturing ideas of their general life experience successfully. One can say that drawing on this level is primarily a medium of expression which helps a child interpret phenomena of his life in his own unique way. This form of communication shows considerable variation from one child to another. These variations presumably indicate the specific level of response to the task of which a child is capable at a given time.

Children's drawings have been made the subject of numerous investigations in the last 60 years. The excellent contributions by Kerschensteiner, Stern, Hartlaub and Kern in Germany, Helga Eng in Norway, Piaget and Decroly in France and Belgium, Meili and Guyer in Switzerland, and last but not least, Goodenough, Hall, Thorndike, Loewenfeld and others in the USA, have given us a clear understanding of the developmental stages as expressed in children's drawings and art work. Their studies have thrown light on the existing relations between form, color, and content of drawings, and factors of intelligence as well as other dimensions of the total personality structure. In addition, their work revealed the specific ways in which children express themselves when they try to create, drawing their concepts and ideas about the world they experience in their daily life. A brief summary of several general principles derived from these studies is given by Goodenough.²

From a large amount of research in child development has been derived a point of view which emphasizes "the whole child" as a useful working concept. Reading, playing, or drawing cannot be regarded as isolated activities apart from a child's total personality development. We accept this point of view. It is assumed, there-

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fore, that expression in one area, such as drawing, is to a certain extent, relevant to the individual's total bio-psychic organization and operational level at any given time.

We may also relate this theoretical point of view to the readiness concept of Brenner.¹ In terms of this concept the following hypothesis for our study was formulated:

Readiness for first grade can be estimated and future success can be predicted by an evaluation of children's task performance in typical kindergarten activities. High readiness can be predicted when successful task accomplishments are present; adequate readiness when the individual's performance level is commensurate with the task volume; and, low readiness when a child frequently fails to meet typical requirements of the kindergarten program.

PROCEDURE

From this point of view the immediate task was to provide precise and realistic criteria in terms of which the evaluation of kindergarten drawings could be made. A selective approach was used. The kindergarten teacher and the writer studied 428 drawings by a group of 18 children in terms of significant differences which appeared consistently, regardless of the subject of the drawing. The drawings were reviewed in the order of their sequence of production in the kindergarten program. Observations were carefully controlled to establish differences. Four criteria were derived as significant in judging individual performance: (1) Creative approach to the task (2) Composition of the picture (3) Color usage (4) Orientation to task. Each of these criteria is identified and characterized by qualities discussed in the following paragraphs.

CRITERIA OF EVALUATION

Creative approach to the task

Most of the pictures included in the study were drawn under conditions which permitted a minimum of direction by the teacher and at the same time gave a maximum of choice to the child. For example, Figure 1 shows picture number 24, "The season I like best." It was produced after a class discussion in which the children contributed their own ideas and expressed their preferences for a certain season they liked best. Other assignments like, "Draw a picture of our visit to the fire station," preceded by a field trip and a class discussion, opened many possibilities for a child's creative abilities to give form to his thoughts and ideas about the life phenomenon he had experienced.

A greater number of objects within a drawing indicated, generally, a wider flexibility in the child's creative approach. A greater number

of components in a drawing also indicated interpretatively, a better awareness of the ideas evolved from his experiences, a higher integration level and better memory. In other words, when clarity of ideas, integration and recall are concordant, a high degree of creativeness is present. A second factor in our evaluation of a child's creative approach to the task was his ability to combine and relate diverse

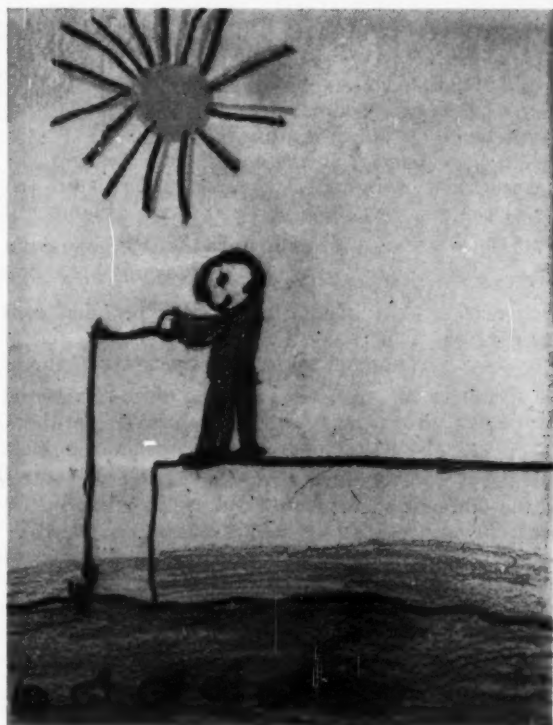


Figure 1

objects to the theme of the assignment. A third quality was originality in ideas which revealed ability to think, and a constructive attitude on the part of the child.

A rating scale with values 1 to 5 was used to score creative approach portrayed by a child's drawing. Maximum ratings of 5 were applied under the following conditions:

- a. The child approached the specific situation with a number of

corresponding ideas, all of which were directly related to the subject of his drawing and made his interpretation meaningful.

b. The child introduced a number of original ideas (at least 2) which were not found in other children's drawings. These ideas had to meet the requirements listed under "a".

c. The child's drawing showed attempts to construct and integrate ideas and to combine these elements into an organized whole.

Minimum ratings of 1 were applied to drawings with these qualities:

a. The child responded to the task with one or two ideas which had little or no relation to the topic.

b. Little originality in response was apparent.

c. The child's drawing displayed impulsive patterning. Incohesiveness of the parts and bizarre effects dominated the picture (a condition with Kerschensteiner³ described with the term "zusammenhangslosigkeit").

Composition

Analysis of the 428 kindergarten pictures revealed constant and significant differences in three dimensions which, for the purpose of evaluation, were summarized under the concept of composition:

a. In the *spacing* of the objects on a given piece of material (8 × 10 sheets of paper), 3 patterns were characteristic in the children's drawings:

1. The objects were well distributed. The whole sheet was effectively used and the different elements of the drawing created an impression of harmonious balance.

2. The objects were adequately distributed. The typical organization of the available space by the kindergarten child followed frequently a pattern of using 80% or more of the sheet for the expression of one or two ideas, to which other thoughts were loosely added during the child's work on the subject. This over-emphasis on one or two items can be considered as a developmental aspect of the drawing process which is given up in favor of a more balanced distribution with increasing maturity.

3. The drawing did not show any attempt to organize space. The products reflected the child's undifferentiated, non-controlled movement, suggesting an extremely low maturity level.

b. The *differentiation* of the total picture as well as of the parts, constituted a second major item in the evaluation of composition. Differentiation as an underlying principle of the developmental process was manifested by the differences which existed between the crude productions based on simple concepts and the comparatively complex

ideas which could be observed in the drawings of several children. There is a consistent relationship between differentiation and mental development: the higher the degree of differentiation in children's pictures, the more advanced are these children in their understanding of the world and in their general mental development. These findings are in accordance with results from earlier studies by Kerschensteiner,³ Thorndike,⁷ and Goodenough.²

c. *Dynamic qualities* expressed by fluency and indication of movement in lines, variability in contrast to stereotyping and repetition of the same objects in simple configurations were included as two additional factors in the evaluation of composition.

Thus, maximum rating of 5 for composition had to meet the following criteria: The spacing of the objects created a harmonious balance. The total space was used effectively. The picture showed good differentiation, both as a whole and in its parts. Dynamic qualities of the total composition were blended in such a way as to preserve balance and good impression.

Color Usage

Most of the drawings were done with minimized direction and maximized freedom of choice for each child. This principle meant that for the use of color, crayons were always available to the child, but that no directions regarding use or non-use of color were given. This freedom resulted in clear-cut differences in the choice and application of color in the pictures. Analysis showed a wide range of effective color-usage in different children's drawings.

High rating of 5 was given under the following conditions:

- a. The total picture and the parts were colored.
- b. Two or more colors were used; attention was given to details.
- c. The colors supported the expression of the child's ideas.
- d. The colors were carefully chosen and a harmonious impression was created.

Low rating of 1 was given when:

- a. The coloring was only partly and superficially done.
- b. The color was a disturbing element in the picture. For example, in several pictures which rated average in creative approach and composition, the child had reduced the quality of his product by scribbling one color over the total picture. (Figure 2).
- c. The color was indiscriminately applied. There was no indication of constructive addition of color to the composition.

Orientation to task

The evaluation of task orientation included an appraisal of atti-



Fig. 2. This picture shows color as a disturbing element in a child's picture. Originally the child drew several boys and girls playing around the house in summertime. When the child colored the drawing he reduced the quality of his product by scribbling black crayon over the upper half of his picture.

tudes toward assignments and an estimate of level of concentration and degree of attention. These factors were considered because they influenced the general performance level in the other three areas. A task, such as drawing a picture is better accomplished when a child pays attention to directions and shows concentration in performance. The only directive consistently given by the teacher was to finish the picture; thus, task completion was the first consideration in the evaluation of orientation to task. Ratings were: *High*, if the task was fully completed; *Average*, if the task was partly completed; *Low*, if the task was incomplete or superficially done.

An estimation of concentration was obtained from the ways a child drew lines. Whenever firmness and connection of lines occurred in the right places, higher ratings were given than in instances of uncontrolled scribbling or impulsive movement.

In addition to the items listed, management of material is important in evaluation of task orientation. Thus, consideration was given to proper treatment of drawing paper as opposed to torn, dirty, or crumpled pictures.

RESULTS

Each picture was evaluated in terms of the foregoing criteria. Ratings of 1 to 5 were applied under each category. Owing to absences during the school year, 25 drawings were not obtained from every child; however, at least 21 pictures were available for each child. The four criterion scores for each drawing were averaged. The average ratings for all pictures by each child were plotted. The rating curves for three children are shown in Figure 3. Table 1 gives

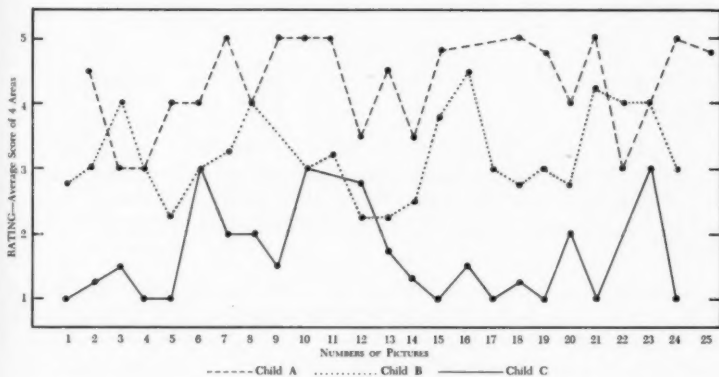


Fig. 3. Graphic summary of evaluations of the drawings of three children.

the data from which the summaries were derived for the three children whose records are used for illustration. The fluctuations shown on the chart are representative of the results for all 18 children. The mean score for all pictures by each child was computed for all of the 18 children. These mean scores ranged from 1.59 to 4.33. Rank order correlations were computed between the mean scores for the drawings and the teacher's rankings of the children in three areas:

	Teachers Rankings			
	General Maturity	Functioning in School	Abilities	By
Evaluations of Drawings (Mean Scores)	.85	.80	.89	Kindergarten teacher (end of school year)
Evaluations of Drawings (Mean Scores)	.91	.92	.89	First Grade teacher (after 3 months of first grade)

Correlations between the evaluations and certain objective tests were also computed:

	Metropolitan Readiness Test	Draw-a-man Test (2)	Sangren Info. Test (6)	Pintner-Cunningham Primary Mental Abilities (5)
Evaluations of Drawings (Mean Scores)	.82	.77	.55	.52

These correlations are all significant at the 5% level.

CONCLUSIONS

The results of our analysis seem to justify the following conclusions:

1. Our hypothesis, that the nature of children's drawings in kindergarten indicates their general readiness-level is strongly supported. By general readiness we mean the child's multi-dimensional potentiality in relation to the multi-dimensional task requirements in school.¹
2. The significant correlations between our results and the results from teacher judgments and objective tests for readiness warrant the statement that successful performance in the kindergarten art program depends largely upon the total personality development i.e., the level of integration of physical, emotional, mental, and social factors. This suggests that creative talent at this level can only bear fruit when other personality factors, such as general intelligence, perceptual qualities, variability, and flexibility are combined with concentration, ability to follow directions, and intensive goal orientation.

DISCUSSION

As a result of this investigation ideas have been developed which seem important:

The positive relationship between drawings and general readiness

TABLE 1. Evaluations of the drawings of three children in terms of criteria

Pic- ture	Child A						Child B						Child C					
	Creative response	Composition	Color	Task Orientation	Total Score	Average Score	Creative response	Composition	Color	Task Orientation	Total Score	Average Score	Creative response	Composition	Color	Task Orientation	Total Score	Average Score
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	3	2	3	11	2.75	1	1	1	1	4	1
2	4	4	5	5	18	4.5	3	3	3	3	12	3	1	1	1	2	5	1.25
3	3	3	3	3	12	4	4	4	5	3	16	4	1	1	1	2	6	1.5
4	4	4	4	4	16	4	4	3	3	2	12	3	1	1	1	1	4	1
5	5	4	4	4	16	4	2	2	2	3	9	2.25	1	1	1	1	4	1
6	4	5	4	3	16	4	3	2	4	3	12	3	2	3	4	3	12	3
7	5	5	5	5	20	5	3	4	3	3	13	3.25	2	2	2	2	8	2
8	4	5	4	3	16	4	4	4	4	4	16	4	2	2	2	2	8	2
9	5	5	5	5	20	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	2	1	6	1.5
10	5	5	5	5	20	5	4	3	2	3	12	3	3	3	3	3	12	3
11	5	5	5	5	20	5	3	4	3	3	13	3.25	—	—	—	—	—	—
12	3	3	4	4	14	3.5	3	2	2	2	9	2.25	2	3	3	3	11	2.75
13	5	5	4	4	18	4.5	3	2	2	2	9	2.25	2	2	1	2	7	1.75
14	4	3	3	4	14	3.5	3	3	2	2	10	2.5	2	1	1	1	5	1.25
15	5	5	4	5	19	4.75	3	4	4	4	15	3.75	1	1	1	1	4	1
16	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	5	4	5	18	4.5	2	1	2	1	6	1.5
17	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	1	4	1
18	5	5	5	5	20	5	4	3	2	2	11	2.75	1	2	1	1	5	1.25
19	5	5	5	4	19	4.75	3	3	3	3	12	3	1	1	1	1	4	1
20	4	4	4	4	16	4	3	2	4	2	11	2.75	2	2	3	1	8	2
21	*	5	5	5	15	5	*	4	5	4	13	4.25	*	1	1	1	3	1
22	3	3	3	3	12	3	4	4	4	4	16	4	2	2	2	2	8	2
23	4	4	4	4	16	4	4	4	4	4	16	4	3	3	3	3	12	3
24	5	5	5	5	20	5	3	4	2	3	12	3	1	1	1	1	4	1
25	4	5	5	5	19	4.75	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total						95.25	Total						Total					
Mean						4.33	Mean						Mean					

* No score—directed lesson

suggests a possibility for the classroom teacher to apply this method as a diagnostic tool which is easily available to her. Drawing plays a part in every modern kindergarten program and apparently can provide valuable clues to the understanding of the total readiness level. The more tools of this kind are available the better we can understand expressions of behavior and their relation to the total readiness level.

Since the educational aim is to establish programs which will aid children in getting the best possible start in school, it is important to perceive the pupil as a dynamic person whose pattern of readiness needs to be observed, tested, and judged in as many aspects as possible. Drawings evaluated by criteria such as were used in this study can provide valuable knowledge for furthering our understanding. The positive results from this small, selected group suggested the need for parallel studies with greater numbers of children.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Grateful acknowledgement is made to Mrs. Deloris Moore, Kindergarten teacher in the Greenfield Village Schools, Dearborn, Michigan for assistance in the evaluation of the 428 drawings used in this study.

Appreciation is extended to Byron O. Hughes, Anton Brenner, and Leland Stott for valuable suggestions and critical comment in the editing of this paper.

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ADDENDA

Drawings * Evaluated in the Study

1. What I did in my summer vacation
2. Something I have seen in the film "Squeaky the Squirrel"
- 3.* Squirrel—The first directed lesson in cutting and drawing—Free choice of colors
4. A tree
5. A picture of our visit to the hospital
6. Jack in the Box—The second directed lesson in cutting and coloring—Free choice of patterns and colors
7. Our visit to the fire station
8. What I like to do in school
9. Jack and the Beanstalk—Impressions of a preceding marionette show
10. How I get ready for winter
11. Picture of a turkey—After a visit to the Village turkey and discussion
12. Things for which I am thankful
13. What I did on Thanksgiving
14. What Christmas is like
15. Something I learned in school
16. A snow picture
- 17.* A snowman—The third cutting lesson—Choice of patterns and colors
18. My health habits—preceded by film of Junior Red Cross and class discussion
19. Edison and the lighting exhibit—Impressions of a visit to the Henry Ford Museum
20. Riding on a sled
21. Robin—Directed drawing lesson (No evaluation of creative approach)
22. Gingerbread man
23. Picture of mother—Direction: Show something she does to make the home happy
24. The season I like best
25. House, landscape and fence

Three typical examples for high, average and low scores in the four areas of evaluation are presented for illustrative purposes. The descriptions explain the method.

* All drawings were done on sheets of paper 9 x 12 inches, using crayons; scissors were provided for construction of pictures 3, 6 and 17. These pictures were only a part of the total art program, which included finger painting, work with clay and free painting on the easel.



Picture 10: How I Get Ready for Winter. Example for high scores in all areas.

DESCRIPTION: A child stands in the center of the picture and spreads out her arms and legs against the wind. She is well dressed for a cold day with cap, snow-suit, gloves, a scarf, and snow boots. Four snow clouds are visible in the sky. The sun is partly covered by the cloud at the left. The drawing of the sky to the ground line is very unusual and original in this product.

CREATIVE APPROACH TO TASK: Rating, 5. The child responded to the task with a wide variety of ideas, all of which are related to the topic "How I Get Ready for the Winter." Besides a great number of clothing articles the girl caught the total atmosphere of a wintry day. The wind blowing away the scarf, the snow clouds, and the partly hidden sun are original ideas which are well integrated into the total picture.

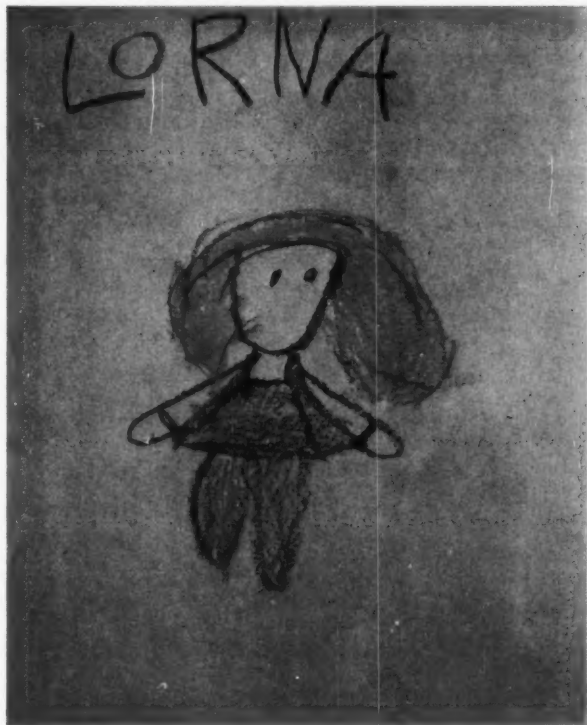
COMPOSITION: Rating, 5. The objects of her picture are well distributed. The whole sheet is used and the main figure occupies the center without destroying the balance of the harmony of the parts. High degree of differentiation is apparent in the total picture as well as in details (careful drawing of face, gloves, snow clouds, etc.). Dynamic qualities are expressed by the movement of the arms against the wind, the jagged outlines of the snow clouds and the scarf flying in the wind.

COLOR USAGE: Rating, 5. The total picture and every part is colored. A total of five colors is used. Red for the snow-suit and cap, blue for sky, darker blue for

snow-pants, brown for horizontal line, scarf, boots, and the girl's face. Yellow for sun, black for gloves. The colors are carefully chosen and support the child's expression of ideas.

ORIENTATION TO THE TASK: Rating, 5. The picture is completed, attention is given to details. The lines are firm and connected at the correct points. The material was treated properly and neatly.

Total score: 20. Average score for four areas: 5.



Picture 10: How I Get Ready for Winter. Example for average scores in all areas.

DESCRIPTION: A girl dressed in a snow-suit and an over emphasized yellow scarf around the head. (The teacher had the child identify this part of the drawing).

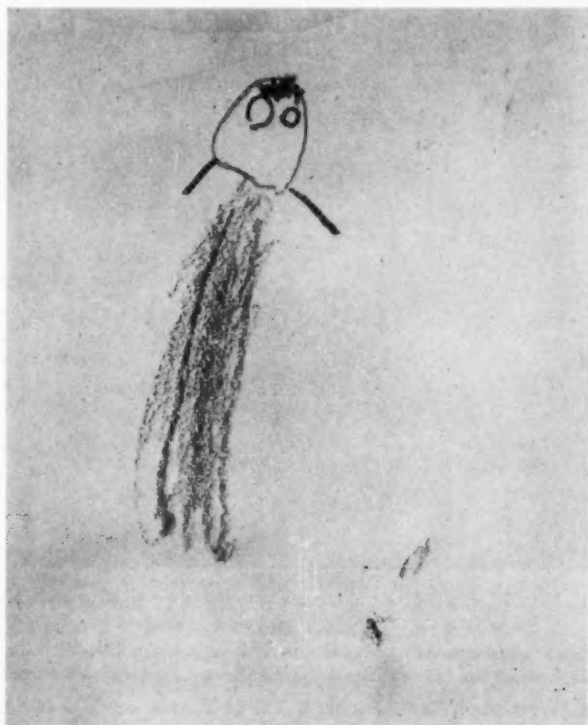
CREATIVE APPROACH TO TASK: Rating, 3. The child understood the task and responded with two good ideas to it. Both the snow-suit and scarf resemble the theme and made the child's interpretation of the situation meaningful.

COMPOSITION: Rating, 3. The figure is put in the center of the sheet. Average degree of differentiation can be observed. While the main parts of the body are present, the feet and several features of the face are missing. Dynamic qualities are represented in the spreading of the arms.

COLOR USAGE: Rating, 4. Seven colors are effectively used: Blue for the snow-suit and the eyes, yellow for the scarf, brown for the outlines, red, green, orange, and lilac for the name. The colors support the two basic ideas and are adjusted to the forms.

ORIENTATION TO THE TASK: Rating, 3. The task is partially completed. Attention is given to some details, others are neglected (feet, features, etc.). The lines are connected at the correct points. The colors are carefully chosen and support the child's expression of ideas.

Total score: 13. Average score for four areas: 3.25.



Picture 10: How I Get Ready for Winter. Example for low scores in all areas.

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DESCRIPTION: A very poor resemblance to a human figure. Originally drawn as a "head-leg" man, with two arms and legs attached to the face circle. The total body was covered with a lilac crayon which symbolizes some kind of clothes. Above the eye circles a lilac zig-zag line indicates a cap or some hair. (The child was not sure about it).

CREATIVE APPROACH TO TASK: Rating, 1. Only one idea—clothes—is included in the picture. The child chose a stereotype figure (head-leg man) and could not give forms to her idea of putting clothes around his body. The uncontrolled up and down lines of the clothing are patterned after the "impulse of the moment."

COMPOSITION: Rating, 1. The drawing does not show any efforts at using the available space in an effective way. The product reflects the child's pleasure in accidental movement.

COLOR USAGE: Rating, 1. Two colors are used; brown for the outlines and lilac for the clothing. The coloring is very superficially done and does not support the idea of the picture. No effort is made to adjust color to form.

ORIENTATION TO THE TASK: Rating, 1. The task is incomplete and superficially done. The paper is dirty and shows color spots in several places. The lines are drawn weakly, little attention is paid to their connection at the right points.

Total score: 4. **Average score for four areas:** 1.

M-P PLANS AND PROJECTS

MERRILL-PALMER STAFF SEMINAR

A long felt need to engage in mutual and shared examination of concepts and intellectual pursuits employed by Merrill-Palmer staff members resulted in plans for an all-staff seminar during the spring of 1957. The purposes were: (1) to increase basic understanding of human behavior through the medium of joint staff contribution and participation, with emphasis on a given area of study; (2) to provide an opportunity for individual staff members to become better acquainted with the thinking and philosophy of professions adjacent to and allied with their own professions (and thus to see more clearly their interrelatedness in the Merrill-Palmer setting); and, (3) to determine whether a relatively unstructured non-credit seminar of this sort might be helpful to the student body. The staff discussed "The Physical and Social Aspects of Reality," during the two-hour seminar periods each week from January 6 to March 14, 1958, under the leadership of Mason Mathews and Helen Sumner.

KINDERGARTEN ADJUSTMENT STUDY

The initial phase of a project designed to provide information regarding nursery school children's adjustment to kindergarten was begun in November by Dorothy Haupt and Albert S. Dreyer. Over the ensuing three months the investigation focused on the development of assessment measures with children enrolled in a nursery school group at Merrill-Palmer. Just prior to kindergarten entrance, children from six community nursery schools were added to the study. Analysis of data collected for the forty-one children, their mothers and nursery school teachers, is in progress. Publication of the material, particularly that relating to children's expectations of kindergarten, is planned.

The second phase began in March with the enrollment of 16 children in the nursery school who are scheduled to enter kindergarten in September. Intensive study is to be made of the determinants of the children's expectations of the school situation. From this population and the possible addition of other families from the community, the 1958 will consist of the "follow-up" on how the child's adjustments to kindergarten are affected by his nursery school experiences and his expectations of kindergarten.

1958 SUMMER WORKSHOPS

The Teaching of Infant Development. For college staff members actively concerned with undergraduate courses in child development or home management. June 16-20.

Interpersonal Relations. Offers students an opportunity to extend their understanding of human relations by becoming an integral part of a group in a camp setting. June 16-July 25.

Family Life Education. An intensive experience in current thinking for high school teachers of family life education, family relations, effective living, personal adjustment and other family-oriented courses. June 30-July 11.

Early Childhood Education. For teachers of young children who have had at least one year of experience in this field, the Workshop will provide an opportunity to share current thinking and research about educational programs for young children. July 21-August 1.

Inter-Institutional Seminar in Child Development. Open to graduate students in education, psychology, child development, sociology and related fields who seek to further their understanding of human development in relation to education. August 3-15.

DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

Contributions to the Merrill-Palmer Development Program by March 20 had increased to \$1,930,142.75. This included \$649,150.63 from Merrill-Palmer Corporation Members; \$135,773.13 from prominent Detroit citizens who are Sponsors of the Development Program; and \$88,100.00 from business corporations in the Detroit area.

April 18, Alumni from all over the country will gather at the School for an Orientation Program on the role of the Alumni in the Development Program.

MERRILL-PALMER VISITORS

During 1954-55, 435 persons visited the School, in 1956-57 there were 1,251. This year from September through January, visitors totalled 1,075.

Visitors come from all of the States and from many foreign countries. They represent other educational institutions, community organizations and a wide variety of professions. Some spend two or three weeks at the School to observe in the laboratories, talk with staff members and to participate in classes. Other visitors stay only a few hours to see a specific part of the program or to talk with one or two staff members. For those who advise the School of their desire to visit Merrill-Palmer, programs are planned to conform with their interests and informative material about the School is sent to them in advance.

Book Reviews

CHEMICAL ANTHROPOLOGY: A NEW APPROACH TO GROWTH IN CHILDREN. Icie G. Macy and Harriet J. Kelly. 143 pages. University of Chicago Press, 1957. \$3.75.

This monograph presents a new concept which the authors call chemical anthropology. "Just as physical anthropology is concerned with the measurements of the human body and its parts, so chemical anthropology is concerned with the measurement of the nutrients consumed and the chemical units laid down in the body as a whole or in its various tissues. Chemical procedures may be directed toward evaluation of the body composition, of changing structures of the body, of physiologic adaptation during growth, and of the interdependencies of nutrients in the body during the attainment of growth and maturation." This concept is presented through an interpretation of the results of a longitudinal study of normal, healthy children between the ages of 4 and 12 years which was conducted at the Methodist Children's Village in Detroit by the Research Laboratory of the Children's Fund of Michigan under the direction of the senior author, Dr. Macy. Cross sectional analysis is utilized and the results are expressed in averages for the age groups, 4-6, 7-9, 10-12 years. Pertinent literature is discussed. Subsequent publications will deal with the variabilities in growth observed in the individual child as he grows, develops and adapts physiologically.

The book consists of seven chapters. Chapter one discusses basic concepts of growth. Chapter two deals with the design of the investigation. Here a brief description of the experimental environment and the design of the experiment is given. For details the reader is referred to the three earlier volumes of *Nutrition and Chemical Growth in Childhood*: Volume I, *Evaluation* (Macy, 1942), Volume II, *Original Data* (Macy, 1946) and Volume III, *Calculated Data* (Macy, 1951). In chapter three the physical characteristics of the children are presented and discussed as average measurements, indexes as expressions of body types, physique assessments (comparison of measurements with standards, Wetzel physique channels) and skeletal assessments. The topics covered in the following chapter, "The Metabolic Fate of Nutrients," include nutrient intake, gastrointestinal activity, excretions, nutrient absorption and nutrient retention. Chapter five deals with body composition as estimated by equations in terms of total body water, extra- and intracellular water, fat and lean body mass.

In chapter six, entitled "Chemical Anthropology" the authors define chemical anthropology. They discuss the activities of a chemical anthropologist in studying the chemical anatomy of the body, some of the procedures which he may employ, the use of standards of reference and the many variables associated with the assimilation of food which may alter the growth pattern. They also discuss the chemical units of growth (nitrogen and the various minerals), the role of each in the construction of tissue and in body functions and the laying down of these elements at the three age levels.

The last chapter, "The Mosaic of Physical and Chemical Growth," begins with a discussion of the "milieu interieur." They state that biologic growth is growth of a community of cells forming a mosaic of the different metabolizing systems. Since these cells must maintain a certain degree of constancy as growth progresses, there is need for physical, physiological and biochemical changes and adaptations. The authors proceed to discuss the components of the blood since it is the conveyor of chemicals to and from the tissues. Some discussion of the nature and functions of these components is focused on the results of the hematological observations and blood chemistry of the children studied. Further discussion of the mosaic of growth includes physical adaptation of the body (expressed in average increments for skeletal maturity, body size and body composition), change in body type which indicates change in body proportions, adaptation of body components, namely fat, water, and cell solids, cellular and functional adaptation and changing tempo and dynamics of the chemistry of growth.

In the final paragraph the authors say: "The interplay between chemical and physiologic functions as they evolve in the mosaic of growth is concerned with changes of size, shape, and proportions of the body, with modifications in structure and function of organs and tissues, and with the tempo and dynamics of the maturation process. . . . Each time a growing child is observed he must be perceived in a new chemical, physical, and functional relationship." Thirteen figures and 36 tables accompany the text. Bibliography is appended.

MARLAN E. BRECKENRIDGE

The Merrill-Palmer School

NEBRASKA SYMPOSIUM ON MOTIVATION. Marshall R. Jones, Ed. 430 pages. University of Nebraska Press, 1957. \$3.50.

This volume reports the fifth Symposium in the series in *Current Theory and Research in Motivation*. The papers and comments are by Clifford Morgan, Donald Lindsley, Eliot Rodnick and Norman Garmezy, J. R. Wittenborn, Pauline Sears, and Charles Osgood.

Morgan reviews the relevant research literature on neurological structure and function and assembles a large group of facts and principles that he feels will be useful in the task of building a general theory of motivation. He also attempts to redefine the problem, for example, by discriminating between the concepts of "need," "drive," and "want."

Lindsley also deals primarily with neurological structure and function and their relations to the concept of motivation, paying special attention to the reticular formation and its functions, which he believes should be studied for better understanding of the concept of motivation. He also frames some of the major questions that must be answered about any concept of motivation.

Rodnick and Garmezy report a series of studies which used schizophrenic patients as subjects and which were designed in terms of dynamic psychological constructs rather than descriptive symptom patterns. The relevance of these studies for motivation is pointed out by the authors. They also include a section on the problems of research with schizophrenics.

Wittenborn presents a concept of drive which he thinks will lead to a more adequate assessment of drive strength. He also redefines habit strength, lists the qualities of performance which he believes may be useful in assessing the energy

aspects of performance, and reports some previously unpublished research which grew out of his thinking in this area.

Sears reports the first naturalistic research program discussed in these symposia. She discusses the methodological problems in this type of study, comparing them with those in a more controlled experimental study in the laboratory. She also describes a research program now being carried out in the schoolroom—a study on motivation and behavior modification.

Osgood adds a motivational dimension to his own behavior theory and attempts to tie it in with other theories in the field. He also reviews the literature which shows the relations between amount of drive and the facilitation or inhibition of perception.

MARTIN L. HOFFMAN

The Merrill-Palmer School

THE MODERN BOOK OF MARRIAGE. 158 pages. Lena Levine, M.D. Bartholomew House, New York, 1957. \$2.50 (paper cover, \$1.00).

This book attempts to bridge the gap between the findings of experts and the use of these findings in helping people. It is based on the assumption that marriages are more likely to succeed or fail on the basis of what goes on *within* them and on the personal satisfactions of the partners than on outside forces. Another point in the rationale for the book is that "findings of psychology, psychoanalysis, and psychiatry have emphasized the need for understanding emotions in men and women and for learning about personal relations." In the foreword, Dr. Abraham Stone describes it as "an intelligent woman's guide to marriage and family living."

In format the book is similar to Stone and Stone's *Marriage Manual*. The author answers and discusses nearly seventy specific questions ranging from the nature of marriage in general, through courtship, preparation for marriage, understanding yourself, understanding the husband, getting along with parents and in-laws, and divorce and remarriage. In the author's words: "Printed here are the most frequent questions brides have asked in groups and individual discussions. They are typical of the questions brides everywhere would like to ask and have answered as a vital means of helping them toward a successful marriage." One may question whether the questions encountered in a New York City clinical practice accurately represent those asked by brides everywhere, but aside from this technical point the questions are pertinent for people who are most likely to read the book. The answers, without pretending to be exhaustive, are concise, clear, and to the point. Dr. Levine brings to her task many years of clinical practice in gynecology, psychiatry, and marriage and premarital counseling. There can be little question of the richness of her experience in working with people in marriage problems or of her qualifications for providing further help with this little book.

The book makes two significant contributions. One is the emphasis on the value in marriage of human warmth, understanding, and tolerance. The second is the way in which underlying dynamic factors in marital behavior are presented in a simple and understandable way without resorting to technical analytic terms. An example of the latter is the author's discussion of displaced resentment and hostility, stemming perhaps from earlier like experiences, as a basis of marital conflict. Another example is her treatment of money problems, in which she stresses

the symbolic meanings that money and its uses may have. Mental hygiene principles are also brought into the picture.

Throughout the book, woven together with such commonsense but often neglected insights as the importance of realistic expectations in marriage, are these two themes. The author's skill in weaving them together is perhaps her greatest contribution.

It is unfortunate that, at least by implication, the reader may gather that such sterling virtues as warmth, understanding, and tolerance may be expected to sprout through resolution alone. I would assume that the author is well aware that psychodynamic factors may be important in determining a person's ability to be warm and understanding and to be accepting of the personality and behavior patterns of his mate. Unfortunately, some readers may not keep this in mind and in certain instances suffer more hurt than help. For example, in discussing the questions, "Why does my husband have sexual difficulties?" she stresses that:

The best cure for a husband's sexual difficulties is a sympathetic and understanding wife, one who realizes that her husband's ego is deeply involved and tries to understand the reasons for his failure. The good wife will help her husband face facts and get to the true origin of his difficulties, even if it means seeking the services of a marriage counselor or psychiatrist.

The inability of some women to be this "good" wife may be just as disturbing and just as closely related to psychodynamic factors as is the husband's sexual difficulty. I am sure that Dr. Levine would be one of the first to recognize that one cannot always adopt desirable attitudes and behavior patterns just by knowing that one should do so. The woman who finds it difficult or impossible to behave in the prescribed way may, like her husband, need understanding help, instead of blame, and this point I feel might well have been emphasized.

I hope that the manner of addressing the book to brides will not rule out the possibility that husbands or husbands-to-be may share its values.

In general, this book is a helpful addition to the literature for people seeking greater success and satisfaction in marriage. It should serve as a helpful reference book in answering many pertinent questions, yet one which does not pretend that information and facts alone will do the job.

OWEN MORGAN

The Merrill-Palmer School

PERSONALITY AND MOTIVATION STRUCTURE AND MEASUREMENT. Raymond B. Cattell. 948 pages. World Book Company, New York, 1957. \$9.25.

This book is an overall report of the development of multivariate research design and methodology and its application to the study of personality and motivation during the past dozen years, and particularly of the achievements of Cattell and his staff at the Laboratory of Personality Assessment and Group Behavior, University of Illinois. It is indeed an impressive volume, some 900 pages of theoretical discussion and research findings, most of which have been previously reported in over a hundred published articles.

Professor Cattell states in his foreword that the book was written for the use of applied psychologists and University teachers and students. However it is quite likely that certain portions of the book would be extremely difficult if not

incomprehensible to many applied psychologists, not to mention undergraduate students. Anyone who has not actually labored thru the complete process of factor-analyzing a table of inter-correlations, including the rotation of the centroid axes for "simple structure" and the interpretation of the rotated factors, would find relatively little meaning in some of the book's contents.

On the other hand there is much in the many pages of the book to commend it to the attention of students of personality and psychological measurement in general. The evaluative discussion of the three "media of observation" and the corresponding categories of data, i.e., L(life record)-data, Q(questionnaire or "mental interior")-data, and T(objective test)-data, is one of the many sections that might be read with profit by anyone contemplating research in the field of human behavior. Another example is Cattell's penetrating discussion of the problems of reliability and validity.

The book is divided into six parts, designed to lead the reader progressively thru the various levels of intricacy of the subject. The first part deals with basic principles of personality research, first showing the essential relationships between quantitative measurement and adequate theory. The three main categories of data (L, Q and T) are critically evaluated in this connection. The advantages of multivariate design in research and the factor-analysis of measurement data in relation to theory development are stressed. The basic concepts underlying factor analysis are discussed and the methods and calculations involved in arriving at "unitary traits" are presented.

The second part consists of the actual presentation and exposition of the basic source traits as revealed in analysis of rating data, questionnaire data and objective test data, pointing out particularly the points at which the results were mutually supporting. Some twenty-two factors (source traits) were thus quite definitely established with others partially established.

In Part 3, the author goes deeper into the questions of reliability and validity and the matter of interaction between, and integration of the source traits as measured.

One of the most intriguing features of the whole report is presented in Part 4, which deals with the objective measurement and analysis of human motivation. Seven "ergic drives" are definitely established and three others tentatively established. They are described as "innate reactive tendencies which are directed toward, and cease at, a particular consummatory goal activity." Cattell sees their achievements in this area as the beginning of a "new wave of advance in psychodynamic experiment" and heralding a return to a point of view in psychology which admits the existence of instinctual "drive patterns" in man. These established ergic drives "correspond with unmistakable parallelism to those (instinctual drives) intuited by clinicians like Freud and Murray, on the one hand, and naturalists like McDougall and Darwin on the other."

In addition to the basic ergs, evidence is presented for the existence of seven "sentiment structures."

The broad question of personality change and stability, along with the measurement of anxiety, fatigue, stress, etc., are dealt with in Part 5.

The concluding portion of the book is directed particularly to applied psychologists—clinicians, educational and industrial psychologists. The need for adequate testing programs using tests of basic "source traits" of personality and

motivation is emphasized. Batteries of such tests designed for practical use in these applied areas are recommended.

Cattell has produced a volume which, in spite of the difficulty many might experience in reading it, should have considerable impact on the psychology of personality and motivation. It gives fresh insight into the common structure and organization of personality, in terms of source traits verified thru parallel but independent analyses of data from the three mediums of observation, thus contributing in a real sense to theory. It demonstrates the effectiveness of the three main factor analytic research approaches, i.e., the "R," the "Q" and the "P" techniques, and the kinds of problems appropriate for each approach. In the opinion of this reviewer the principles and procedures set forth in this book make a very significant contribution to research methodology.

LELAND H. STOTT

The Merrill-Palmer School

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION. D. J. O'Connor. vii + 148 pages. Philosophical Library, New York, 1957. \$3.75.

This book is intended for the student of education who has had little or no previous background of study in philosophy. Declining the more usual historical approach to educational and philosophical doctrine, the author is concerned instead to examine the nature of philosophy as a "specialized discipline" and to demonstrate its relevance as such to educational theory and practice. He states, "... in this view, philosophy is not in the ordinary sense of the phrase a body of knowledge but rather an activity of criticism or clarification." Within this frame of reference the book distinguishes between the philosophical question and those questions which belong properly to the areas of logic on the one hand and of the natural and social sciences on the other. It then proceeds to examination of the nature of value judgments and of theories and explanations in a general sense, and finally to more explicit consideration of educational theory and certain aspects of morals and religion. In addition to the bibliography there is a section of bibliographical notes which serve to direct the reader's attention to additional sources of information or discussion relevant to the subject matter of the individual chapters.

MARJORIE SANGER

The Merrill-Palmer School

THE CHILD WITHIN THE GROUP: AN EXPERIMENT IN SELF-GOVERNMENT. Marion E. Turner. 93 pages. Stanford University Press, 1957. \$3.00.

"Can self-control be developed in young children through a program of group self-government? What are some of the factors that enter into the development of self-control in children?" These challenging questions constitute the framework of an interesting, long-delayed report of a social experiment carried on by Miss Taylor.

The setting for this project was in a small private school with an ungraded classroom situation. Over a period of twenty-three months (from the fall of 1920 through the summer of 1923) a total of thirty children participated with Miss Taylor in developing solutions to their problems of working and living

together. The ages of the participating children is particularly interesting: from four years to six and a half years during the first year and from five years to seven years of age during the second year. Nine children participated throughout the study: at no time were there more than eighteen children in the group.

From many years of reading reports of a teacher's experience in developing a particular approach to a group of children the reader tends to acknowledge the unique and interesting aspects of the project but, at the same time, to question the influence of the author's personal investment in the scheme. Miss Taylor offers to the reader something more than a mere accounting of the children's positive use of her plan. The analysis she makes of her role with the children, the clues used to assess their readiness for additional experiences and the final evaluations offered on the approach add depth and quality often missing in other accounts. However, the organization of the material does not make this abundantly clear on first reading. For example, she describes her role as providing a channel of communication and as Chairman, summoning all the children for a meeting. Each individual who had something to say about the child who was in trouble and needing assistance raised his hand and spoke. When the sentiment of the class was clearly revealed, Miss Taylor generalized this in a summary and it was voted upon by the children. A statement of the majority ruling was then posted. It is not until the next paragraph that one discovers that only when an offender had listened to all that was said about what he had done, did he have a chance to state his side of the matter.

During the first year, with Miss Taylor acting as chairman of the group, no complete or accurate records were kept. By the beginning of the second year, the children were able to conduct meetings themselves, under a chairman chosen among their group. While Miss Taylor was then freed from these duties and able to take verbatim recordings of the discussion, she continued her objective guidance of the group.

To a teacher of young children, the thirty year delay in the publication of this stimulating material is regrettable, perhaps not so much in terms of the specific program in developing self-control as for the delay in sharing with others evidence which seems to reinforce our beliefs in the capabilities of very young children. If nothing more, her recognition of "a particularly delicate psychological distinction between a co-operative government in a school and a government in which the adult has made certain rules which are accepted and enforced as the children's own" provokes thoughtful consideration of our programs for children. Furthermore, one may make application of the principles supported by Miss Taylor in any situation involving people.

DOROTHY HAUPT

The Merrill-Palmer School

THE CREATIVE ROLE OF CONFLICT IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

DAN W. DODSON*

Historically, the work of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials has had an interesting history. Its early background stems from many sources. There were agencies such as the Jewish Defense agencies, the N.A.A.C.P. and the Urban League which had worked for a long time developing democratic acceptance of the minority group person. Then there was the National Conference of Christians and Jews whose program stemmed from concern over the amount of hostility toward the Catholic group in the Al Smith Campaign—and tied with this of course—the hostility toward Jews in American life.

Prior to World War II there was the development of what might have been called intercultural education or programs to develop better intergroup relations by teaching people to better understand and appreciate each other's cultures and particularly by bringing to the attention of the education profession the unique contributions of the various cultural groups to the commonality of American life.

Another antecedent has been the enormous amount of teaching and preaching and effort on the part of religious organizations in America to bring about a better relationship between peoples of the country and the world—with the notion that we should learn to appreciate the inherent dignity and worth of all people.

The real push, I am sure you would all agree however, came with World War II. At this point there was an enormous amount of unrest in American communities not only because we were fighting a war against racism abroad but as well because at home we were denying the very things to some of our citizens for which we were fighting for other peoples across the world.

The incongruity of this situation, however, did not appreciably alter relations until after violence flared in places like Detroit, New York City and Beaumont, Texas. Following these outbursts of violence, however, there immediately emerged concern in communities across this country—particularly the northern and industrial sections—to

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An address to the Eleventh Annual Conference of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials.

meet the challenge, motivated not so much, perhaps, because of concern for human personality but that we might win the war. The conflict restructured relations in many communities.

Since 1941 heavy emphasis has been given to educational and psychological approaches to intergroup relations. I mean by this that we have worked on such problems as the nature of prejudice, the ways in which people thought about each other—that is, attitudes of people toward each other, and have pursued that illusive goal which has been the dream of many peoples—namely, that if we would rear just one generation of children free of prejudice and if this were ever accomplished our whole problem would be finished.

While all of these efforts have contributed something to our knowledge of human relations the missing dimension, or the dimension which is least represented in the literature and in the activities in which we have been engaged, has been (1) the nature of intergroup relations and (2) insight into the nature of conflict itself. In my judgment these are tied together intimately and need to be thought of in a different context to that which has characterized most of our efforts up to the present time.

I should like to begin by making three basic assumptions on which to predicate the rest of what I want to say:

The first is that all of us are born into groups. The groups into which we are born build systems of values, perceptions and attitudes into us. This inevitably means that all of us are prejudiced. There is no such thing as an un-prejudiced person if he lives in any kind of social organization. The groups into which he is born teach him not only the particular values of that group but as well teach him how to perceive. In other words the objects, the behaviors, all of that which has cognitive meaning in man's life is built into him by the groups of which he is a part. The best way to illustrate this is that if it were possible to rear a child without any knowledge of culture at all and turn him loose in a city which might be devoid of people with all the modern gadgets these would have no significance for him unless and until he learned the culture that taught him how to use them. Hence, not only are we taught to pre-judge what will happen in various relations of peoples to each other but the very capacity to perceive is built upon the fact that we do learn to pre-judge many, many things in life.

The second assumption is that conflict is one of the normal ways through which peoples interact with each other. Most of us, and particularly those of us in the human relations business, come out of backgrounds which have built into us great commitments. Most often these are predicated on the stereotype that we draw from Micah's great vision of the time "when man shall beat his swords into plowshares and his spears into pruning hooks and he shall lay down his arms and study war no more." As great as this vision is and as great as is the need for us to find an alternative to war as a means of settling our disputes you and I know today that if there is to be freedom in a society there is going to be difference and if there is going to be difference of interests, peoples will jostle into each other and there is going to be conflict.

The challenge to us is not to find a utopia in which there is to be no more conflict. This would be stultifying and would be the last place most of us would want to live. Our problem is rather that of finding ways to use conflict toward creative ends in our social relationships.

The third assumption is that all of us live in groups and that these groups have what they consider to be equities in the social order and as the status of relations of group changes, re-structuring becomes necessary. It is next to impossible to restructure relations between groups without some hostility and conflict and prejudicial behavior of peoples toward each other on a group basis.

All of us prejudice—I am prejudiced against Southern white economic councils. I assume you are too. It is this dimension of inter-group relations which has not been adequately considered. I would contend that we bring to our associations as individuals the attitudes and values of life which the groups to which we belong have built into us and that these seem useful and superior to us because we know them and feel comfortable with them. I would also contend, at least for purposes of this discussion, that attitudes between peoples are much more a reflection of the structural relations of their groups to each other than are they a matter of what is the psychology or dynamics of prejudice.

Let me illustrate to you what I mean: Many southern people, for instance, by and large have no prejudice against Negroes in their group assigned place. As long as they keep their place they accept them, have them in their homes, cook their food, serve their meals, rear their children and all the things that go with it. Their resistance is to a change in the relationship between the groups and their prejudices reinforce the present structural relations between the groups. Once you change the structure of the group's relations so that it becomes permissible for Negroes to ride buses for instance, and once it is established that this is going to be the relationship between the groups in this particular form of association, there seems to be little difficulty in accepting the change of relation and no prejudice or hostility is connected with it. It is also noticeable that when such whites come to New York City where it is taken for granted that the change of relationships of the groups is in operation they have no trouble riding subways and mixing in situations, sitting in theaters with people of different backgrounds and show little of the symptoms of prejudice which characterize much of their irrational behavior in their own locale.

This hostility can be turned on and off with amazing facility. Do you remember Pearl Harbor? Do you remember the hysteria on the Pacific coast? Do you remember what happened to the minority when structural relations were changed by government abdicating its responsibility for enforcing civil rights of peoples following Pearl Har-

bor and the attendant stripping of rights and citizenship of those of the Japanese background group? Do you remember the propaganda about the Japanese—the people with the buck teeth, the gold-fillings and all the things that went with it? And if you were to survey the same groups today for comparable hostility, stereotyping and prejudicial content you would find very little of it. We now think of the Japanese as nice and tremendously interesting people and have a very warm relationship to them.

How does it happen that prejudices are turned on and off with such amazing facility? I would contend that the pre-judging and the hostility are symptomatic of relationships between groups and not by and large the cause of particular relations between them.

Is this relevant to an understanding of the issues facing us in America? From this position it is more apparent as to what is involved when the structural relations between groups in this country are changed or threatened in areas as significant as desegregation of education. What we see is the manifestation of prejudice, violence and other kinds of hostilities toward peoples as they go through the restructuring of their relations to each other.

I know of few ways in which group relations can be restructured except through conflict. On the other hand the major portion of our agencies are very afraid of conflict. All too many of the agencies we represent were created by mayors and other responsible officials whose interest was in keeping conflict from occurring in their communities. Too often we are expected to placate the conflicting interests rather than use such conflict to achieve creative goals in which the relations between groups become restructured without destructive conflict.

Be that as it may, the cutting edges of a democratic society are the points of tension and conflict and are not at those places in which the issues have already been decided and groups have more or less accepted their structural relations to each other.

The significance of this approach to intergroup relations can be better understood by an examination of civil rights in America. A good case could be made that growth and interest in civil rights has stemmed not from what we have done as ameliorative agencies but rather because of what has happened in the restructuring of relations between groups because of the broad social changes which have occurred. The War brought millions of Negroes, for instance, from southern communities into our large northern, eastern and western cities. They today hold the political balance of power, theoretically, at least, in six of the larger states of the Union: New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan and perhaps California. These are states in which there is a relatively even balance of power between

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